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Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-122
Monday
28 June 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

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Vienna Vote on Bosnia Creates 'Dangerous Precedent'

PM2506155093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Bay and Sergey Tosunyan: "Vote on Bosnia Crisis Undermines Consensus in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna—The day before the end of the World Conference on Human Rights, a number of Muslim countries succeeded in pushing through a strongly worded anti-Serbian declaration, which undermines the already fragile consensus among participants in the consultative forum in Vienna.

True, even before this there was not much hope that the conference on human rights—in the course of which the Cuban foreign minister hit out, from the platform, at criticism of his regime and at which Saddam Husayn's brother was given the floor but not the Nobel Prize-winning Dalai Lama—would end on a high note. However, it is a long time since the "developing" part of the world community has been able to pull so hard in the political tug-of-war as at Vienna.

In essence, the participants in the human rights forum were subjected to gross pressure by the member countries of the Islamic Conference Organization, who insisted on the discussion of a special document on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This resolution, which is worded strongly and unobjectively, puts the whole blame for kindling the conflict exclusively on Serbia and Montenegro, the Yugoslav People's Army, and the Serbian militia (at the last minute, a reference to "extremist elements of the Croatian militia" was deleted from the draft). The authors of the declaration call for the total lifting of the embargo on weapons deliveries to Bosnia-Herzegovina, openly acknowledging that this is in the interests primarily of Muslim groupings. The blackmail lay in the fact that more than 50 Muslim countries were threatening not to sign the forum's concluding document if this declaration was not adopted.

The results of the vote were surprising. More than 80 states supported the declaration, about 50 abstained, and Russia alone voted against.

Our vote should not be seen as a concession to the national-patriots, IZVESTIYA was told by V. Bakhmin, chief of a Russian Federation Foreign Ministry administration and a member of Russia's delegation. We are certainly aware that the greater part of the blame in the conflict rests with the Serbs, but you cannot fight for human rights by deliberately arming one of the warring parties.

In the opinion of another Russian representative at the conference, S. Kovalev, chairman of the parliamentary committee on human rights, the vote was "shameful," and he said so bluntly, in particular, to the U.S. delegates, who abstained, "putting political interests above what is right."

Russia's representatives were also opposed in principle to putting too much emphasis on the Bosnia problem, especially the day before the end of the forum ("We could have raised any number of questions here: Karabakh, Tajikistan, the position of the Russian minority in Estonia and Latvia"), preferring to discuss global and concrete questions affecting the entire world community. The vote on Bosnia-Herzegovina creates a dangerous precedent: A group of countries was able to openly impose its own terms on the forum, and, inspired by victory, is continuing to develop the offensive, seeking a softening of the wording of the main document.

The conference ends on 25 June, but many contentious paragraphs have yet to be adopted. The Russian delegation advocates that the concluding document reflect ideas on the indivisibility of human rights, the creation of the office of UN high commissioner for human rights, and a clear condemnation of terrorism. If, under pressure from the South, the wording that is adopted is watered down and toothless, then the final document becomes devoid of all meaning and the Vienna forum can be deemed to have failed.

Baltic States' Stands at Human Rights Conference Reported

LD2506140593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have proposed that the United Nations strengthen its structures concerned with the protection of human rights. This wish was expressed in a statement made by the Baltic States yesterday at the human rights conference in Vienna. The statement stresses that UN human rights divisions should work effectively and receive sufficient financial support from the United Nations budget. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia backed the idea of establishing the post of the UN Commissioner for Human Rights. The Baltic States also maintain that the UN peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance programs and activities should be based on the principle of adherence to human rights.

Retired Admiral Criticizes Black Sea Fleet Accord

MK2406111093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 69, 24 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 23 Jun) p 2

[Article by Vice Admiral Kazimir Stalbo, retired, former chief of the Black Sea Fleet's operations department, in "Opinion" column: "Division Has Left Us Broke"]

[Text] As is known, in the course of the 17 June working meeting in Moscow between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk it was decided that "formations and units of all categories of the fleet—surface ships, submarines, air forces, and coastal troops; operational, combat, technical and logistical formations, units, establishments, and installations; armaments, ammunition, military equipment, and other movable property of the Black Sea Fleet as of the date of signing of a separate agreement on the division and the conditions for the presence of the Russian Navy on the territory of Ukraine shall be subject to division between the Russian Federation and Ukraine in proportion of 50 percent to 50 percent." This decision has provoked controversy in society. Professor Kazimir Stalbo, doctor of naval sciences, holder of the Russian State Prize, retired vice admiral and former chief of the Black Sea Fleet's operations department, states his position on this issue:

I know about the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and the mood of its personnel not from hearsay reports. Today many seamen phone me, extremely alarmed: What the hell is going on? I presented my considerations in a letter to Boris Yeltsin prior to the working meeting, and I shall share them with readers.

As is known, there is a Russian Supreme Soviet decision on the illegality and unconstitutionality of the act on ceding Crimea from Russia to Ukraine, and no one has ever repealed it. At the same time, the division of the Black Sea Fleet in fact means tacit consent to Nikita Khrushchev's criminal libertarianism, a lordly gesture which has doomed hundreds of thousands of people to problems which at that time, more than 40 years ago, they could not have even dreamed about. I assert: There is not a single legislative act that provides grounds for considering Crimea Ukraine's territory. There is the principle of estoppel in international law. Its essence is that over time the right to possess a disputed territory grows with respect to a party that has no legal rights over it. This, unfortunately, is in fact what is happening.

The problem of the Black Sea Fleet today is primarily the problem of Crimea as a whole. In it, both defense-strategic and social and moral problems are intertwined. The transfer of 50 percent of the military hardware and of the entire infrastructure to Ukraine means a loss of tens of billions of rubles that rightfully belong to the Russian people. And the people? What is the meaning of their transfer? What are they—a faceless attribute, an inventory, a special facility? I have another question: Why does Ukraine not cede to Russia half the values that it has unilaterally proclaimed to be its own—the Kiev, the Odessa, and the Carpathian Military Districts, the Air Defense Army, and the 43d Long-Range Aviation Army? And Sevastopol just breaks my heart. Since Ushakov's days the people have treasured this holy part of Russian land—and here we are now.

I am sure: The agreement on the division of the Black Sea Fleet has been prepared by indifferent and fairly incompetent people. Tell me, who could have prompted Andrey Kozyrev to state that the Black Sea Fleet will be operating "smoothly?" I know nothing about this kind of operation. And therefore it is not clear just what the foreign minister is so happy about.

Today in detachments and crews, officers are holding meetings, subjecting the agreement to the most ruthless criticism. The Black Sea Fleet personnel are saying openly: "Moscow has betrayed us."

The only relief is that the document is subject to ratification in both the Russian and the Ukrainian parliaments and therefore there is hope that yet another act of plundering Russia, another humiliation of the officers who are going to be placed under a foreign flag, will be prevented. I believe that not only must the agreement not be ratified, but it must be condemned as anti-democratic and anti-Russian. I think that our country's Supreme Soviet should return to the problem of Crimea and press for its independence.

Leonid Kravchuk said a few days ago: "Sevastopol is part of Crimea and Crimea is an inalienable part of Ukraine." It is only up to the people of the peninsula, however, to decide whether they want to be within Russia, Ukraine, or become an independent structure in the CIS. A requisite number of signatures in support of a referendum on this issue was collected long ago, but some political leaders are trying to intimidate the people by saying that as a result there would be a "bloodshed." Come on, gentlemen. You should act strictly within the law, within the framework of historical justice and centuries-old traditions, and then everything will be all right. Believe me, an admiral who has seen plenty.

Further Reaction to Accord

PM2506094193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 1

[Vladimir Pasyakin report: "Agreement Signed, But Problems Remain"]

[Text] Mediterranean Sea—Reaction to the Russian and Ukrainian presidents' decision on the Black Sea Fleet from Black Sea sailors has been very mixed.

The Black Sea Fleet's large ASW ship Kerch, and the escorts Razitelnyy and Ladnyy, received the text of the agreement signed by Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk while performing a mission in the Mediterranean. I will cite just a few of the views of those set to experience for themselves the as yet unelaborated mechanism for dividing up the Black Sea Fleet. And I will note that they express the general mood.

Vice Admiral Petr Svyatashov, chief of staff of the Black Sea Fleet:

"For the most part our hopes have not been vindicated in that section which should take due account of the most important thing—people's futures. While it is possible to divide up ships, it is more complex to share out the onshore infrastructure, although we'll assume it can be done. But how do you divide people up under various flags? Will it be possible to take account of their views, and the desire to serve on the Black Sea in the Russian Navy, which will be reduced by more than half?"

Captain First Rank Yakov Kapov, chief of a department of the Black Sea Fleet Personnel Directorate:

"I consider the agreement reached on Russia's participation in developing Sevastopol and other basing facilities for Russia's Black Sea Fleet to be a positive thing. At the same time, it creates additional problems and leaves unresolved the questions of finance, pensions, and the social protection of servicemen."

Captain First Rank Gennadiy Ukhanov, officer of the Black Sea Fleet staff:

"I consider the exclusion of any unilateral acts during the transition period, and the ban on the publication of directives not deriving from the presidents of Russia or Ukraine, to be a good move."

Captain Third Rank Nikolay Ldokov, task force psychologist:

"Knowing the situation in the region, it is hard to believe that a civilized division of the fleet will begin in September."

Other Black Sea seamen who familiarized themselves with the agreement also expressed opposition to actual fact of the division. "It is degeneration and ultimate demise"—this is their view on the future of a divided fleet. But what is most fundamental in the sailors' moods is concern that the agreement again confronts them with a choice, as in the case of swearing the oath, which will plunge the officers' corps into confrontation. At the same time, the agreement does not provide answers for the day-to-day issues impeding the normal functioning of the Black Sea Fleet.

Baltic States Hold Joint Military Exercises

PM2506123593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Report by Yuriy Stroganov: "Latvian Airborne Troops Make Friends with Young Women"]

[Text] Vilnius—The inhabitants of Adazhi near Riga watched with interest the powerfully built boys in camouflage uniform with sleeves decorated with the most terrifying badges—the snouts of a snarling lynx and an iron wolf and a skull and crossbones. These are the emblems of the elite military subunits of, respectively, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

Joint exercises of the Baltic countries' ground forces were held in Adazhi. The best indicators were achieved by the Latvian airborne troops. One Estonian soldier even had to be brought round with the aid of smelling salts after a hard, forced march.

In Latvia, the training of airborne troops is viewed in a serious and all-encompassing way, not only militarily. In Latvia the troops have a longer term of service than in other Baltic countries. There are advantages. Free travel on all forms of transport apart from aircraft and taxis, free movie tickets, and, in very strong contrast to the former Soviet Army—the possibility of having young women as guests on the unit territory.

And the exercises took place in a spirit of friendship and much was shown to the attentive observer. For example the degree of training and the desire to pool efforts. A. B. Butkevicius, minister of national defense, even said that the exercises could be a step toward creating a united Baltic battalion of UN forces.

One can sense a desire for the Western countries' arms. Thus, at the exercises the Lithuanians and Latvians had German and French military equipment. But so far the Nordic countries' defense ministers have decided not to sell weapons to the Baltic states while there is a foreign army on their territory.

Lithuania buys firearms from Russia. To the question of why arms purchases are made there, A. Butkevicius replied that it is merely a case that the firearms, which are no worse than Western arms, are far cheaper. It is true that at the talks it may possibly be decided to buy other weapons in Russia. But some countries are already ready. Sweden has offered Lithuania equipment for two military units and also 50 field kitchens, 10,000 field uniforms, armored vehicles, and other equipment. Over the next three years Sweden intends also to equip a system for air defense and the tracking of sea borders in the Baltic countries.

Marshal Ustinov Commander Details Refit Problems

LD2706112393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0735 GMT 27 Jun 93

[From the "Military Review" program]

[Excerpts] Before making an official visit to the shores of the United States, the Marshal Ustinov missile cruiser spent some time in the Barents Sea combat training area. Our film crew was invited on board as well. The flagship of the Northern Fleet was in port for almost eight months. The reasons? The ship is almost seven years old. Of course, as sailors say, that is still young, but a refit is needed all the same. The fuel situation is not too good, either. The main problem, however...

[Avakyants, in progress] ... is the problem of material and technical support, connected largely, although you have probably been told this repeatedly, with the collapse of the old state.

[Correspondent] Is this a problem on today's voyage as well?

[Avakyants] Yes, on today's voyage. It has meant that the vessel could not put to sea for a long time, specifically as a result of technical capabilities. We were looking for reserve capabilities, renovating equipment, signing new agreements with new enterprises, going over to service and contracts with other regions, and it all needed time.

[Corresondent] Yes, it is not the fault of the Northern Fleet that ships lie alongside for seven or eight months, that there are not enough ratings or officers in the Fleet, that the Fleet is obsolescent, that even on this voyage ratings had not only to learn their future trades but paint the ship. They could not paint it in dock: There was no paint. There is a young crew on this ship now. This year 234 people have been taken on contract here. These are specialists, however. The rest [passage indistinct] staff officers, experience during this short voyage. The ship has not been at sea for almost eight months. If you ask me, how can you teach ratings on shore? [passage omitted]

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 26 Jun

LD2606062993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0530 GMT 26 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—"Russia does not intend to put up any more with the humiliation of Russians in Estonia," the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper comments on "the law on foreigners" adopted by the Estonian parliament.

The draconian law on foreigners, writes the Russian Defence Ministry organ, is a step running counter to understandings reached with difficulty on outstanding issues. "It is easy to understand what is the aim of Tallinn stiffening its policy against the Russian-speaking population.

"Humiliating these people and making them "second-rate" citizens, Estonia offends Russia, forcing it to take retaliatory measures to protect its countrymen abroad."

The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper, the government organ, features an interview with deputy chairman of the Russian Central Bank today. Speaking of the bank's currency and financial policy, he said: "We begin to control the situation in the currency sphere".

The rouble's stabilisation began, while the slow but steady slide of the dollar's exchange rate vis-a-vis the rouble indicates some stabilisation in the currency sphere.

"We have prevented sharp fluctuations of the rouble by increasing the capacity of the currency market: We introduced import tariffs which decreased the convertibility of currencies. The positive balance of payments in foreign trade also was a favourable factor. The tougher budget and monetary policy in the first six months of this year was conducive to the rouble's stabilisation too," he stressed.

The ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspapers continue to publish materials on "the corruption of Russian high-ranking officials". Facts of corruption were made public by N. Makarov, chairman of the special commission set up by the Russian procurator-general's office, at parliament's session.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, parliament's organ, carried an address by the Russian legislature to President Boris Yeltsin and the Constitutional Conference.

"The Russian parliament deems it impossible to continue the participation of representatives from councils of people's deputies in the Constitutional Conference until people who compromised themselves attend its deliberations," the address says.

"One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward" is the title of an article contributed by Russian Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy to PRAVDA. The vice-president writes that he tries to compare the present constitution of the Russian Federation and the one being drafted by the Constitutional Conference.

Rutskoy quotes extracts from the two texts of the fundamental law, which are similar both in meaning and sometimes even in wording. The vice-president asks the following question: "What was the need for all the fuss with the Constitutional Conference if everything that was said in the approved statement on a new constitution is recorded in the operating Constitution?"

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI puts the following question to the Presidium of the Russian parliament. The newspaper asks the Presidium to supply for publication the findings of a parliamentary commission which inspected the operation of the Russian social development fund called "Revival". The newspaper says that the findings were prepared for "internal use" and was not made public.

All newspapers write with concern about the deteriorating political situation in Azerbaijan caused by the divestment of President Abulfaz Elchibey of his powers.

"Nothing unusual has happened," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA notes in this connection. "Similar situations developed in Georgia, Lithuania and Moldova in the past.

"People's fronts and movements overwhelmed with the euphoria of power wreaked havoc by defying realities of domestic development and foreign policy. It is evident that their leaders became scapegoats of their fiascos," the newspaper concludes.

Russian legislator Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the parliamentary committee on legality, law and order and crime control, describes reasons for the confrontation between the Chechen people and their President Dzhokhar Dudayev in an article in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA published today.

The legislator believes that Chechnya has divided into two opposing military camps, and one step separates them from a fratricidal war. Aslakhanov believes that the reasons for this situation lies in Dudayev's dictatorial aspirations quashing emerging democracy in the republic.

Reaction to U.S. Missile Strike Against Iraq

TASS Reports Strike

LD2706055493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0524 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington June 27 TASS—The White House has officially announced the delivery of a U.S. missile strike against Iraq. The strike was delivered at about six p.m. local time on Saturday "in retaliation to an Iraqi operation that threatened the life of President Bush while he was in Kuwait City on April 15," Presidential Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said. "Every effort was made to minimise civilian casualties," she said.

Bill Clinton administration officials, who requested anonymity, said the strike was carried out by means of Tomahawk cruise missiles against a Baghdad target connected with Iraqi intelligence activities.

Foreign Ministry: Raid 'Justified'

LD2706101593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a comment by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry in connection with the action taken by the United States against Iraq. In the opinion of the Russian leadership, the U.S. actions are justified since they proceed from the right of a state to individual and collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter. We hope that mutually acceptable decisions on this bilateral problem will be reached without escalating military actions, the Foreign Ministry statement says.

Commentary Says No Winners

LD2706125893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] It is very interesting that this week the United States, which so fervently defends its position in the field of human rights, has once again demonstrated its own understanding of this problem.

Well, the United States decided to protect the rights of just one man—former U.S. President George Bush. Let me remind you of the anecdote: All in the name of man, all for the good of man. And we know the name of this man. The United States launched a rocket offensive on Iraq because, it said, they had irrefutable information about a plot to murder the former U.S. President. This was a detailed plan drawn up by the government of Iraq, the head of the U.S. administration underlined. Here is Sergey Shalygin to comment.

[Shalygin] Organizing plots, assassinations, coups, and terrorist acts as well as opposition to them is one of the main tasks of modern state intelligence services. Secret service men and spies have long since been given the romantic title: knights of the cloak and dagger. At the present time I doubt that we can use this title. Knights nowadays have a habit of selling and reselling themselves many times. Not many people use daggers. Pistols, submachine guns, and even tanks are much more reliable. You can have any kind of weapons, the most modern equipment. It seems likely that the usage of the cloak remains an unwritten rule, including protection of secrets and the habit of settling the relations between each other in secret.

But even in this respect a lot has changed. The term state terrorism has been included in the political lexicon. But there is nothing new in it. This is only recognition of the fact that the intelligence services are fulfilling the orders of their states, in this case—Iraq and the United States.

In a certain sense nobody has won as yet. Saddam Husayn is okay and George Bush and Bill Clinton are both alive. One has the impression that because the intelligence services are unable to do anything, the United States, in its fight against state terrorism, has decided to assume the responsibility of innovation in acting out its role of a state highway knight.

Commentary Questions Appropriateness

LD2706134593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] The attention of the world's news agencies has been drawn today to the retaliatory missile strike by the United States against Baghdad. The strike was delivered late yesterday afternoon against the intelligence center, in a prestigious area of the Iraqi capital. There are no details on damage, but the Iraqis have let it be known that three civilians died during the strike. Naturally, the U.S. action has drawn the attention of observers. Here is my colleague Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] Despite the statement by Washington that the strike was carried out following consultation with allies, it seems, of course, a little unexpected. The question which arises is, why was this done? The official version is that the United States received irrefutable evidence of Iraq's plot to murder former U.S. President Bush during his visit to Kuwait in April.

In the words of President Clinton, retaliatory action was essential in order to prevent further violence against U.S. citizens and send a clear signal to states which support terrorism that they must behave themselves in a civilized manner in the community of nations.

I have no grounds to doubt the truth of the allegation that Iraq attempted to physically destroy Bush, who, as we know, was at the head of the international coalition which defeated Saddam Husayn in the war against Kuwait, which he began. What does arouse doubt is the appropriateness of Washington's reaction. It leads one to look for different, more weighty motives for the action undertaken than the ones which have been presented.

These motives are, in my view, discernible, and they primarily lie in the U.S. internal political situation. Attempts by the administration to concentrate attention on internal economic affairs following the end of the Cold War are being subjected to severe criticism. A line is being demanded of it which would provide for a leading world role for the United States. Representatives of the administration are attempting in their speeches to disperse the opinion that it has turned down leadership, but everybody wants action. In this light the active involvement of the United States in tackling problems in Somalia, Guatemala, Haiti, and Yugoslavia becomes a little more understandable.

Iraq evidently comes under the same heading. The Clinton administration has said that it is reinforcing support for elements of the democratic opposition in Iraq, and the strike on Baghdad, in my opinion, is called for to show that the administration, as before, does not intend to tolerate the current Baghdad regime.

The U.S. action against Baghdad has provoked a restrained world reaction. The Egyptian foreign minister, for example, has said that the Americans should show more decisiveness in support of the Bosnian Muslims. The Russian Foreign Ministry has justified the U.S. actions, stating that it is derived from the right for states to individual or collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.

At the same time, we can understand that Moscow has clearly let Washington know that the reason it has given is not sufficiently weighty for delivering a missile strike, as well as that Moscow would not like this strike to lead to an intensification of the conflict. We hope, says a commentary distributed today, for achievement of a mutually acceptable settlement of this bilateral problem without an escalation of military action.

Moscow is certainly not overjoyed at Washington's action: A missile bombardment of Baghdad certainly gives critics of the United Nations a new reason to accuse it of falling in with Washington's line, in which Moscow is naturally not interested. It also causes damage to the positions of the Russian leadership, which refutes U.S. pretensions to leadership, but is following a line of partnership with the United States and, consequently, is subject to opposition attacks.

Strike To Enhance Clinton Standing

LD2706184793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By correspondent Zinenko; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The [Iraqi] intelligence service prepared an assassination attempt on Bush this spring when the ex-President was in Kuwait. Two days before his arrival Iraq transferred its agents there. They were supposed to blow up a car loaded with explosives while Bush was visiting the capital's university where he was being awarded an honorary degree. The bombs could strike a target within a 400 meter radius, but the assassination was successfully foiled. Those involved in the plot are in prison awaiting trial and are liable to face the death penalty.

Today, Iraq described as absurd Washington's explanations for the bombing attack and said the assassination itself was an invention on the part of the vile rulers of Kuwait. Meanwhile, the situation in Baghdad has returned to normal. According to reports from the capital, transport is running normally in the district where the missiles landed, and military marches and patriotic songs are being broadcast on radio.

The strike on Baghdad is Clinton's first tough action which may help him to get rid of the reputation of being a weak leader. This operation may also increase his authority among the military. Relations between Clinton and army circles are fairly cool. The President's promise to allow homosexuals to serve in the army, not to mention the administration's plans to close several U.S. military bases, did not exactly send the Pentagon into raptures.

Further Commentary on Strike

LD2806041193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0239 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Excerpts] No other event in the world since the Gulf war has evoked such a stormy reaction as the U.S. rocket attack on Baghdad. Our commentator Lidiya Podolnaya sums up reports on this:

[Podolnaya] One inevitably compares it to the Desert Storm operation. Like three years ago, it was decided to punish Iraq, but this time for a plot to murder former U.S. President Bush, the leader of the international coalition that defeated Saddam Husayn. [passage omitted]

So, the world community has yet again come face to face with a conflict situation that is fraught with serious consequences, since the interests of many states are at stake here. One of the consequences is already in evidence—the Third World's opposition to the West. Will it be possible to find a way out? The international community has so far failed to put an end to the war in former Yugoslavia. At the same time, it is obvious that acts of retribution, no matter how just they may seem, cannot make countries follow rules of universal behavior. So, one should look for other approaches to resolving such conflicts.

United States To Purchase Four Nuclear Reactors

LD2706063393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0522 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Loshchilin]

[Text] Washington June 27 TASS—The United States intends to purchase another four Russian Topaz-2 space nuclear reactors in addition to the first two bought in May last year.

The value of the new deal, which has already been endorsed by the U.S. Departments of Defence and Energy, is estimated at 20 million dollars, the well-informed SPACE newspaper reported.

The Topaz-2 is a unique power plant which has no analogues in the world and is capable of doubling the length of operation of up-to-date satellites and other spacecraft in orbit.

Clinton Said To Warn Yeltsin Over Third World Arms Sales

PM2506153793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Sanctions against Russia?"]

[Text] Washington, 24 Jun—At the latest White House briefing press secretary D.D. Myers was asked to comment on a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES which claims, citing unnamed administration representatives, that President Clinton has sent a letter to President Yeltsin warning of the possibility of U.S. sanctions against Russian companies selling military technology to Third World companies. "We always take seriously any reports of breaches of the missile technology proliferation control regime," Myers said. "We are studying this question. As you know, in the past we did introduce sanctions against Russian companies which breached the regime. And we are concerned by reports that there may be new breaches."

Commentary on Congressman's Views on U.S. Aid

LD2706024693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] Looking through the verbatim record of last week's debate on aid to foreign countries in the U.S. Congress, I paid attention to a statement by Democrat James Traficant. The esteemed congressman said it just didn't make sense, in a situation when one's own house was about to be taken away because of nonpayment, to spend money on paying a neighbor's rent. Despite the fact that last Thursday the House of Representatives approved the bill stipulating a 2.5 billion dollar aid package to former Soviet republics in the next fiscal year, Mr. Traficant's statement should not be ignored, as this point of view is undoubtedly shared by many Americans faced with straitened circumstances.

I shall take the liberty to come up with some considerations on that score. First of all, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that all the former Soviet republics taken together—including Russia—are to receive less aid than Israel alone. To my mind, this fact—though difficult to explain—is sufficient to doubt the sincerity of Washington's enthusiastic statements in regard to the approval of the bill.

When I use the word aid, I have a feeling of inner protest. What is called aid by Washington politicians appears to have little to do with charity or altruism. I suppose Mr. Traficant knows well what an astronomic price the Americans had to pay for the ruinous and senseless arms race. It's a question of many trillions of dollars. A stopping of the absurd waste of money and cutbacks on military expenditure, resulting from the end of confrontation between our countries, saves the American taxpayer a sum by far bigger than the aid being considered.

And the question arises: Whom is Washington helping more by reducing its spending—Russia or itself? From this angle, arguments against the expediency to pay the neighbor's rent do not look convincing. One has the impression that they are intended for naive and poorly informed people. Naturally, the fact that a sound approach to the matter in the U.S. Congress prevailed, leaving demagogues in the minority, arouses satisfaction. Yet a tendency towards spectacular gestures, rather than a desire to pass over from words to action, continues to dominate the banks of the Potomac.

Further Official Reaction to Estonia's Foreigners Law

'Text' of Yeltsin Statement

LD2506125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 25 June—The following is the text of the statement issued by the president of the Russian Federation on Thursday [24 June] in connection with the Estonian Government's actions:

"A number of actions have been undertaken by the Estonian authorities and legislative bodies aimed at limitation of the rights of the Russian-speaking population. These actions are unfriendly toward Russia. The law "On Foreigners" adopted in Estonia grossly violates legal, civil, property, social, and vital rights of the Russian and Russian-speaking population. This can be viewed as the practice of ethnic cleansing and the introduction of an Estonian version of apartheid.

"Bearing in mind the whole complex of historic circumstances and its interest in preserving good-neighborly relations, Russia has shown understanding towards Estonian policy and made compromises. However, it seems that the Estonian Government has misjudged Russia's goodwill and, giving way to the pressure of nationalism, has "forgotten" about certain geopolitical and demographic realities. The Russian side has means at its disposal to remind Estonia about these.

"Russia sees the law on foreigners that has been adopted as a breach by the Estonian side of the balance of relations that had formed between Russia and Estonia, who had political and diplomatic agreements. The principle of good-neighborliness has been placed in jeopardy.

"Russia does not intend to tolerate a restriction of the legal rights of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia. The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already made diplomatic demarches to draw the attention of the world community to the policy of apartheid in Estonia. It seems that this is not sufficient.

"The Russian leadership will take all necessary measures to defend its national interests and protect the Russian-speaking population from political, social, and police arbitrariness. The appropriate departments have been instructed to undertake a range of measures to provide for the defense of the honor, dignity, and legal rights of our fellow-countrymen, including servicemen, military pensioners, workers at military enterprises, and members of their families.

"Calling on the Estonian side to re-examine its standpoint concerning their attitude to the Russians, I would like to warn them: All the responsibility for the possible violation of civil peace in Estonia will lie with the Estonian leadership. One must understand that given a natural desire of the Russian-speaking population to protect themselves from gross discrimination, Russia will not be able to remain in the position of an indifferent observer."

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin

Background to Foreign Ministry Statement Viewed

LD2506152693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] A statement of Russia's Foreign Ministry has been circulated at the forum for European security in Vienna. The forum is sat under the auspices of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Radio Moscow observer Anatoliy Potapov takes a look at the situation that has led to the appearance of the document. He writes:

The statement of Russia's Foreign Ministry has been prompted by continuing crude violation of the rights of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. The country's leadership has pushed through the law on foreigners. Actually, one third of Estonia's Russian population speaking is being denied elementary rights and direct pressure is being put to make them leave the republic. Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has described this as political and social arbitrariness. It is most surprising that this nationalistic law, patterned after the worse discriminatory measures of apartheid, was approved almost immediately after Estonia became a member of the European council as observance of human rights and the rights of national minorities is one of the main condition of membership in that organisation.

Moscow had expressed the opinion that there should be no hurry in admitting Estonia into the Council of Europe. But Estonian leaders again presented, as they did many times earlier, Russia's stand as a sort of imperial pressure on a small neighbor. Unfortunately such tactics very often turn out to be very successful in the West. And so Estonia became a member of the Council of Europe. Many political observers viewed the action as a blow at the prestige and the role of the Council of Europe. The Swiss JOURNAL DE GENEVE described the decision as suicidal and difficult to comprehend. It also expressed surprise that the organization, which claimed to be at the centre of the national minorities in Europe, is capable of barring 30 percent of the population in that Baltic republic from the field of its activity. Indeed, it is rather odd that certain European countries are underestimating the danger of aggressive nationalism which is rapidly growing in Estonia. Incidentally, the CSCE pointed out on many occasions that it is aggressive nationalism that is today the source of ethnic conflicts in Europe. That is why Russia suggests that CSCE help repeal the discriminatory law of the Estonia officials. It seems to me that in this way the countries of the Helsinki process will demonstrate the effectiveness of their decisions to prevent [?budding] ethnic conflicts.

As for Russia, it should understand clearly the situation that has developed. There is a threat to the good neighborly relations with Estonia. The sincere desire of Moscow to meet the country half way [?exactly] made the nationalistically-minded authorities in Tallinn believe they can do everything they like and get away with it. But Russia has its own means. And it will not remain indifferent when an Estonian model of ethnic cleansing is going on and when the honor and dignity of Russia's servicemen and members of their families are being trampled upon. It would be well to heed to the tough warning made by President Yeltsin.

New Russia Bloc Supports Sanctions

LD2506180093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1654 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The New Russia political bloc has estimated the Estonian law on foreigners as a "gross violation of international obligations in the human rights sphere" and made a statement in defence of the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic republic.

The bloc, which includes the Russian Peasants' Party, the People's Party, the Russian Social-Liberal Party, the Russian Christian-Democratic Union and the Assembly Public Organization, appealed to the Russian leadership with a request "to immediately raise at the U.N. Security Council the question of introduction of economic sanctions against Estonia up to the blockade of its sea ports until the republic changes discriminative legal norms as regards non-native nationalities".

Company Halves Gas Deliveries to Estonia Due to Debt

LD2606143193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Estonia's debt to Gazprom has reached 10 billion rubles. For this reason the Gazprom joint-stock company has halved natural gas deliveries from Russia to Estonia. If the debt is not cleared, then deliveries will have to be stopped altogether, (Bogdan Bodzhulyak), a member of the board of the joint-stock company, has told an RIA correspondent.

Government Expresses 'Deep Concern' Over Abkhazia Shelling

LD2606121993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1121 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—The Russian Government expresses deep concern over the continued shelling of Sukhumi and other towns and villages in Abkhazia, leading to an escalation of the armed conflict and the loss of human life, says a statement by the Russian Government circulated here on Saturday.

The document notes that the Russian Government demands that all the participants in the conflict strictly observe the ceasefire and ensure adequate conditions for the operation of peace keepers and international observers in compliance with the understandings reached at the Moscow talks.

The Russian Government warns of grave responsibility which will be borne by any side refusing to fulfil the above demands. Russia will take adequate measures against such a side.

The Russian Government firmly stands by the understandings reached at the meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader and parliament Speaker Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on last May 14 and will act in conformity with these understandings, including those provisions which deal with strict neutrality of Russian troops.

For our part, we insistently call for ensuring security and favourable conditions for Russian troops stationed in Georgia.

Vice Premier Interviewed on Trade With Kiev

MK2606101493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin by Vladimir Skachko under "Ukraine" rubric: "'To Assume Union Debts and Cede Property Is Madness.' Russian Federation Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin on Results of Meeting Between Heads of Ukrainian and Russian Governments;" place, date not given]

[Text] Commenting on the agreement and protocols signed in Kiev, Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Government, said that there is yet another package of documents that should be signed before the vacation period. In his opinion, these documents could be signed on a differentiated basis: some at the presidential level, others at the level of governments or particular departments. On the upcoming 28 June meeting of representatives of 10 contiguous regions of Ukraine and Russia in Kharkov, Aleksandr Shokhin said that although the two countries' premiers are going to attend, hardly any interstate agreements will be signed there since the meeting will be "devoted to the restoration of traditional economic ties."

[Skachko] Why did Viktor Chernomyrdin not go to Washington on 25 June? Is this somehow connected with the meeting in Kiev?

[Shokhin] He will not go to Washington because a number of questions that should have been resolved have not yet been brought to a level where they could be presented for discussion to the prime minister and Vice President Gore. This is on one hand. On the other, Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton are to meet on 10 July, and signs are that we cannot settle these questions before that time. Then, following an impetus provided by the meeting of the two presidents, we should manage to translate them onto a practical plane.

There are very many technical details, although a large package of documents is ready for signing now, for example, a framework agreement with U.S. banks on American credits to Russia's oil and gas sector worth nearly $3 billion, a grain agreement, and so forth. We shall sign these documents either on the working level or during V. Chernomyrdin's visit, which cannot take place now until after the G-7 meeting in Tokyo. There is nothing dramatic in the postponement of the visit—there are only some extremely complicated problems that we have not yet been able to address. And the Russian Government has no wish to turn this meeting into a purely protocol affair and the visit into a sightseeing tour.

[Skachko] Was this coordinated with the U.S. side or was the decision made solely by Russia?

[Shokhin] This was done on the agreement of the two governments.

[Skachko] Viktor Chernomyrdin spoke about the possibility of raising Russian oil and gas prices to world levels by the end of 1993. Is this possible?

[Shokhin] First of all, it was Leonid Kravchuk who said this first. As a follow-up to that idea there is a certain plan for a gradual increase of prices and a phased increase of tariffs for the transit of Russian gas to Europe through Ukrainian territory. This plan envisions that at the end of this year the price of Russian gas should be $80 per 1,000 cubic meters. This is not yet the world price level, but slightly below. And the transport tariff should be the same as in Ukraine—approximately $1.5 per 100 km of transporting 1,000 cubic meters of gas. At present we are trying to coordinate a pattern for the movement of prices toward the world level (in June, approximately 42,000 rubles per 1,000 cubic meters of gas), and also a starting point in the movement of tariffs toward the world level.

[Skachko] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated that Russia will extend a technical credit to Ukraine. Have the sum and the terms of this credit been determined?

[Shokhin] This is not a technical but a state credit. The agreement on it has been signed. The sum involved is not very large compared with what Ukraine asked for: some 250 billion rubles. But apparently the figure will be adjusted after the Russian Supreme Soviet on 25 June has made a final decision on the size of credits to the CIS countries. I mean that this sum should be reflected in the state debt, that is, in the state budget. If the Supreme Soviet authorizes an increase in the size of the credit to Ukraine, we shall certainly do so.

[Skachko] And Ukraine asked for over a trillion rubles?

[Shokhin] Yes, something like that.

[Skachko] What are the practical implications of the agreement on free trade signed between Ukraine and Russia?

[Shokhin] It means that on 1 July no import duty on goods imported by Russia from Ukraine will be introduced. If we had not signed this agreement, then, given that Russia has applied for GATT membership, we would have had to cancel an earlier decision that Russia, having Most Favored Nation [MFN] status in trade with Ukraine, would lift all import duties.

[Skachko] In other words, the nontaxation of Ukrainian goods would have been a violation of international trade regulations?

[Shokhin] Yes, this would be a breach of all GATT rules. The MFN regime means that the preference granted to Ukraine could be seen as a preference to all the states with which MFN agreements have been signed. And there are 130 such states. Naturally, Russia could not do that, and therefore, strange as it might seem, it was Russia that insisted on signing an agreement on free trade with Ukraine so as not to damage bilateral trade relations—and they could well have been damaged.

[Skachko) Will the zero option on the sharing of debts and assets of the former USSR be signed?

[Shokhin] The zero option has not been signed, but I think it will be in the near future. The Ukrainian delegation pretended that it was seeing the draft zero option for the first time, even though it was prepared by the Russian side and sent to Kiev, signed by me, two months ago. We wanted Ukraine to have an opportunity to study it and, should it agree, to sign it immediately. On 24 June we brought the same version of the document, but the Ukrainian leadership declared that it had seen it for the first time and that it needed time to study it.

[Skachko] And the zero option envisions the transfer of 36 premises located abroad? Was the decision on this cession not made in exchange for Ukraine's consent to sign the zero option?

[Shokhin] The zero option, in the opinion of the Russian side, is in no way connected with the transfer of any facilities to Ukraine. Zero is zero, and next year Russia will have to pay $16.5 billion of the former Soviet debts, from which Ukraine has been exempted. To assume debts and in addition to cede property would be the kind of madness over which the Russian parliament could well raise the issue of the Russian Government's resignation. But given the generally good relations between Ukraine and Russia, a decision was made in time, and a week ago it was confirmed in Zavidovo, that a number of facilities could be transferred to Ukraine for its use. In other words, this means that Russia will retain the right of ownership. Ukraine proposed a list of such facilities a long time ago, but we need to take into account the fact that this transfer cannot be regarded as being in exchange for the zero option. By the end of the year a final decision could be made as to what exactly will be transferred to Ukraine, how much and where.

Gaps Narrowed With Ukraine; Gas Price Issue Pending

MK2506105093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 3

[Artur Vardanyan report: "Chernomyrdin in Kiev. Prime Ministers Take Another One-Week Timeout"]

[Text] Talks between the Russian and Ukrainian prime ministers, which ended yesterday in Kiev, had been given the go-ahead at last week's meeting of their presidents in Zavidovo, Moscow Oblast. KOMMERSANT-DAILY's forecast that Viktor Chernomyrdin's mission will not be an easy one was confirmed, although the presidents made progress in resolving a number of economic problems. Assessments of the free trade accord initialed in Kiev range from "a framework agreement" (Vladimir Maksimov, chief of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry's main administration) to a "predatory" one (Boris Sobolev, Ukrainian deputy foreign economic relations minister). The argument about what the price-setting mechanism for Russian energy resources should look like, which aroused even higher passions, reflected two different interpretations of a market economy: the Russian side insisted on world prices, while the Ukrainians argued for a price moratorium.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin conducted talks in Kiev first with his counterpart, Leonid Kuchma, and then with President Leonid Kravchuk. It was unclear until the last moment whether a compromise with regard to the terms and conditions of mutual deliveries, and also to Russian gas prices, could be found. The free trade agreement initialed by the prime ministers was termed by Boris Sobolev, Ukrainian deputy foreign economic relations minister, as "predatory:" It is Russian raw material deliveries that are exempt from the treaty in the first place, whereas Ukrainian goods are to be delivered to Russia duty-free. Nonetheless, Kiev's interests are served by the current Most Favored Nation status in trade to an even lesser extent, because it makes the terms and conditions of Russian-Ukrainian trade dependent on agreements with third countries. A compromise solution was found in reducing the list of exemptions from 2,000 items to 400, but energy resources continue to be "exempt" from free trade. The process of reductions may later continue, which is what prompted Vladimir Maksimov from the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry to call it "a framework agreement."

Gas prices caused an even more heated argument. At present, Ukraine pays 43,000 to 46,000 rubles [R] for 1,000 cubic meters of gas. Russia suggested that they switch to world prices—between $83 and $90 for 1,000 cubic meters—by the end of the year. Ukraine, however, insisted on "a price moratorium" for 18 months, which would also apply to the transit fee charged for transporting gas via Ukraine, which currently stands at R180 for a 100 km run of 1,000 cubic meters of gas. The definitive decision on the problem was put off for a week.

In experts' view, if the agreement were signed on Kiev's terms, it would have remained on paper. A way toward a compromise lies not in rejecting world prices, but in cushioning the effects of a transition to them.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY will follow up on the results of the Kiev talks tomorrow.

Black Sea Fleet Officers Call For Raising Russian Flag

LD2506181693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The Officers' Assembly of the Black Sea fleet called on fleet seamen today to "raise the historical St. Andrew's flag on all ships and vessels of the Black Sea fleet".

The assembly also offered to hold an all-fleet delegate conference on June 29 to discuss the fate of the fleet.

Sources at the Black Sea fleet press center told ITAR-TASS, staff officers adopted a resolution to estimate negatively the agreement on the Black Sea fleet signed by the Russian and Ukrainian officers on June 17 in Moscow. The resolution calls on the two countries' parliaments to refuse from the document ratification. [sentence as received]

They also called on the Russian Parliament to take the Black Sea fleet under its jurisdiction and spread on it the validity of Russian legislative acts and orders of the Russian defence minister.

Command To Withdraw Radioactive Materials From Siauliai

LD2606184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1634 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius June 26 TASS—Spots of land contaminated with radioactive substances have been revealed on territory of the Siauliai Zonkiai military airfield, from where a Russian air division has been recently withdrawn.

A dosimeter examination showed powerful radium emanation, which is dangerous for both human health and the environment.

The military command of the Russian North-Western Group of Forces decided today to airlift to Russia about one ton of radium-contaminated materials that were dumped into soil, the Radio Lithuanian reports. Radium-containing substances will be piled in a radioactive material storage in the Leningrad region.

The radium will be transported by a specially equipped military cargo plan with money of the Russian Army, the Russian military command told the Siauliai authorities in an official letter.

Former KGB Member on Spying in Baltics

MK2606111093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 70, 26 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 25 Jun) p 6

[Interview with Vyacheslav Shironin, former chief of KGB Second Chief Directorate, by Yuriy Glants under the "First-Hand" rubric: "Russia-Baltics: Dragged-Out Divorce of Special Services"]

[Excerpts] V. Shironin, until recently deputy chief of the KGB Second Chief, Counterintelligence, Directorate, is now among those whose experience is of use to Russia's new special services. Many of his counterparts who used to serve in state security committees of the former Union republics are also not out of business. The Baltic republics are an exception: Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were the first to cash in on the situation in the USSR in August 1991, and inaugurated their full and unconditional independence by scrapping the KGB structures. The logic of those days is clear. But what has become of the hundreds of trained specialists who, in the western sector, had successfully countered foreign intelligence services, actively fought smuggling, drugs, and organized crime? How do relations between the special services of these states and Russia shape up? [passage omitted]

[Glants] It was indicated in one of the Russian Federation security minister's latest appearances that a number of special services are multiplying their efforts, pressing into service mobile operatives on the territory of Russia's close neighbors. Does this apply to the Baltics?

[Shironin] In full measure. I am inclined to suspect that more foreign intelligence services are active in the Baltic countries now than were once active in neutral Switzerland. Some of those found there do not even have espionage nets in Russia. The Baltics have, in fact, turned into a beachhead of operations against our country. In this sense, local special services have granted their Western counterparts complete freedom.

[Glants] Deliberately or through ignorance?

[Shironin] They often know with whom they deal there, and in return they make use of material and technical means, and consultations. Foreign intelligence services work along three avenues. First, they recruit Russian servicemen, even their family members. Second, they create commercial enterprises as "cover" and then their branches in Russia. Third, they actively make use of the by now widespread practice of bringing into various structures—government structures included—foreign advisers. In particular, Lithuania's former KGB knew very well that 14 out of 32 foreign advisers on the former Sajudis and the Lithuanian Republic leader's staff were either professional intelligence officers or agents. One such professional intelligence officer was a certain "adviser" Khouk who consulted the Polish Solidarity before he arrived in Vilnius. Incidentally, he penned a 28-page manual on tactics of government overthrow and seizure of power.

Some would surely resent my view, but the objective of foreign special services in operating from the territory of the Baltic countries against Russia is clear. In the beginning, the Baltic countries played a salient, if not the main role in breaking up the USSR. Now there is an attempt to use them to weaken the Russian Federation.

To all appearances, the prospect of having a weakened neighbor seems alluring to certain forces in the Baltics. They may think it would then be easier to solve the territorial claims made by nationalist circles of Latvia and Estonia in regard to Russia. Given this setup, the Baltics have no other strategic designation but to serve as a beachhead for subversive activities by Western intelligence services against Russia.

[Glants] The recent elections in Lithuania and Estonia showed that ideas of rabid nationalism do not enjoy wide support among the electorate. This, despite the fact that virtually only Latvians have the right to vote in Latvia. Maybe it is time for a sensible policy that takes account of mutual interests of neighboring countries, rather than a time for confrontation?

[Shironin] One would be able to judge about that with full certainty after the laws discriminating against the Russian-speaking half of the population, in this same Latvia, have been revoked. Or, if to continue comparisons on another level, instead of playing ball with Western intelligence services, our counterparts would rather start mutually advantageous cooperation with us in combating crimes that know no borders. The Russian Federation Security Ministry is ready to sign a treaty on concerted efforts to prevent and thwart terrorism, drugs, and the weapons trade.

According to information we have, the local special services are not strong enough to cope with these crimes. In particular, the Baltics are turning from a drugs transshipment point into a stable market for them. Our special services counterparts in these countries should remember that unless the drug mafia is subdued, irreversible changes in the genetic stock of the peoples populating these small countries, which are comparatively sparsely populated, would start. Of serious consequences could also be the widening trade in firearms, which fuels organized crime in more than just this region.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Javanovic Holds Talks in Moscow

Expresses Gratitude for Help in Solving Crisis

AU2506201593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Jasmina Stamenic report from Moscow]

[Text] The open and constructive atmosphere of Yugoslav diplomatic head Vladislav Jovanovic's first working visit to Moscow obviously reflects the Russian diplomacy's intention of further following and participating in the regulating of the Yugoslav crisis at this stage.

Minister Jovanovic's proposal to have the sanctions suspended in the course of the negotiating process was assessed by Andrey Kozyrev as an interesting initiative that can be realized, particularly if the Serbian and Yugoslav leaderships continue to make positive moves.

At the same time, Kozyrev stressed that the process of regulating the crisis no longer depends solely on the good intentions of the Belgrade and Yugoslav leaders and the Serbs from Bosnia, but also on the realistic assessment of the situation on the part of the Muslims.

The Russian diplomatic head expressed hope that the accelerated negotiating process, in which, he stressed, President Milosevic, in his search for a solution that would satisfy all three sides but within a territorially integrated Bosnia, plays a particularly active and positive role.

Kozyrev assesses that the successfully completed negotiating process would make possible the lifting of the sanctions and the return of Yugoslavia into international organizations, which Russia will firmly support. Moreover, Kozyrev expressed the conviction that Russia would not accept any interference with the territorial unity of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

The talks with special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin progressed in the same tone. Vladislav Jovanovic positively assessed the role of Russian diplomacy in solving the Yugoslav crisis, particularly its efforts in international forums. The Yugoslav diplomatic head expressed the wish that Russia actively participate in the current round of talks, because with its constructive, principled stand, believes Jovanovic, it could help achieve a realistic solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina that would take into account the interests of all three peoples.

Help with requests for the lifting of the unfair sanctions, as Yevgeniy Ambartsumov put it, was promised by the Russian parliamentarians. Vladislav Jovanovic particularly thanked precisely them for their significant role in attempts to have the world objectively view the complexity of the Yugoslav crisis.

Reviews Talks

LD2606100493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0839 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic assessed his visit to Moscow and talks with high-ranking Russian officials as positive.

In a statement given to Yugoslav correspondents prior to leaving Moscow, Jovanovic said he had briefed his hosts about the essence of the negotiating process aimed at resolving conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and had expressed the wish that Russia would join in the process.

We pointed out that the confederal system for Bosnia-Herzegovina was just a modification of the Vance-Owen plan and the Washington agreement, and we briefed our hosts about its main features, Jovanovic said. We stressed that peace efforts were to continue. "We expect that the Muslim side will join in this phase of negotiations," the minister said.

According to him, Russia assessed positively recent Yugoslav efforts aimed at resolving conflicts, in particular, Yugoslavia's efforts to revive the peace process. "We explained to our hosts that Yugoslavia has made enormous efforts to ensure that the Muslim side is treated as an equal partner," Jovanovic said.

The Yugoslav foreign minister said that they also discussed bilateral relations. We noted historical roots of our relations and assessed that sanctions were acting as a restrictive factor but not as a factor which renders cooperation impossible.

The sanctions against Yugoslavia are unfair and counterproductive now the whole world can see that what is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a Serb aggression but a civil war, Jovanovic emphasized.

We again drew attention to the fact that the FRY is not a party in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict and that it has been observing its obligations strictly, Jovanovic added. We have met all conditions for sanctions to be lifted and we expect that the international community would react appropriately. Jovanovic also proposed that sanctions be suspended while the negotiating process is under way and that they consequently be lifted. Jovanovic said that the Committee for Sanctions was creating obstacles for the delivery of gas to Yugoslavia for humanitarian purposes.

The minister said that he renewed the Yugoslav leadership invitation to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and other Russian Federation officials to visit Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic is leaving Moscow for Belgrade today. This was the first visit paid by a FRY foreign minister to Russia. Jovanovic had talks with Kozyrev; his deputy Vitaliy Churkin; the head of the parliamentary committee for foreign relations, Yevgeniy Ambratsumov; and a group of deputies.

Kozyrev Urges Accelerating Peace in Yugoslavia

LD2506155393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun—Andrey Kozyrev, head of Russia's foreign-policy department, has expressed the hope that the process of seeking a formula for a peaceful settlement in Bosnia that would satisfy all three sides "within the framework of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina" will be speeded up.

Addressing journalists at the end of today's meeting at the Russian Foreign Ministry with Vladislav Jovanovic, the foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, he noted that the speeding up and subsequent conclusion of the peacemaking process will be "decisive" for a transition to lifting the sanctions against the former Yugoslavia and its return to the United Nations, the CSCE, and the world community. "In this Yugoslavia can wholly count on Russia's support," he emphasized. Compliance with the UN demands, the minister said, would mean a peaceful settlement and this would deprive the continuation of such sanctions of any meaning.

Andrey Kozyrev characterized as "an interesting initiative" the intention to suspend the sanctions while the process is under way. Noting President Slobodan Milosevic's active role in seeking a solution to the problem, the minister said that as the process is "taking shape," it would be realistic first to suspend and then to abolish the sanctions.

The foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia described as very positive the role of Russian diplomats in the peace-making process. "Russia has always advocated a free, peaceful and all-embracing solution of the Yugoslav crisis," V. Jovanovic said. "We welcome its constructive role in the settlement."

Kozyrev Sees Slovenia as 'Model' for Balkans

PM2506162293 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Konstantin Eggert report: "Moscow Considers Slovenia the Model To Imitate in the Balkans"]

[Text] The fact that the working visit to Moscow by Slovenian Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle coincided with a Foreign Ministry statement containing Russia's updated view on the principles for a settlement in Bosnia could be described as a logical coincidence.

Slovenia, which two years ago was the first to leave the Yugoslav federation, is traditionally perceived as the most "pro-Western" of the former SFRY republics. On the one hand, the meeting with his Slovenian counterpart enabled Andrey Kozyrev to discuss bilateral relations, which are developing pretty well (a political treaty will apparently be ready in the fall, and an exchange of visits at the highest level is not ruled out). On the other hand, the talks with L. Peterle provided an additional opportunity to see how the changes in Russia's Balkan policy are perceived.

Apparently both Moscow and Ljubljana are reconciled to the new realities in Bosnia and are only concerned that the formation of three integral ethnic-religious regions should take place without "ethnic cleansing," by means of the regulated resettlement of people under UN supervision. Kozyrev and Peterle are convinced that the Muslims must not be abandoned to the whim of fate. In the Slovenian minister's opinion, that would lead to the emergence of a new Lebanon and would prompt an outbreak of international terrorism.

Apart from these fears which Europe and America share, Russia has its own reasons to seek to prevent the humiliation of the Muslims. First, a significant number of our country's citizens profess Islam. This factor cannot be ignored from the viewpoint of domestic political common sense. Indifference by Russia toward the oppression of the Muslim minority in Bosnia could lead to accusations of double standards and rebound on Moscow's campaign for observance of the rights of the Russian-speaking population in nearby foreign countries. Therefore, Russian diplomacy should be expected not only to try to convince the Muslims of the impossibility of preserving a unitary Bosnian state, but also to put pressure on the Serbs and Croats with a view to inducing them to return a substantial proportion of the occupied territories to the Muslims. Furthermore Russia will obviously strive to restrain Belgrade from actively exploiting the results of referendums on Serbian-controlled territories in Bosnia and Croatia. Smolensk Square [Russian Foreign Ministry] believes that it makes sense to discuss territorial changes only after the complete cessation of hostilities.

Although both Moscow and Ljubljana are worried about the increasing influence of ultranationalists in Serbia, the impression is that Slovenia, which has linked itself firmly to Western Europe and has no belligerent Serbian community, is less afraid of the Belgrade regime "moving to the right." At the same time Russia, which is becoming increasingly bogged down in Balkan policy, is clearly willing to extend dialogue with the once hostile Milosevic, if only to prevent the coming to power of chauvinists from Vojslav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party.

Andrey Kozyrev called Slovenia a "model of peaceful development on the territory of former Yugoslavia." As yet, unfortunately, the only one.

Croatian Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

LD2806072293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Dr. Mate Granic arrived in Moscow sometime after midnight last night on a working visit to Moscow at the invitation of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Granic will first hold talks with Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and personal representative of President Yeltsin responsible for the former Yugoslavia. The main topic will be the new plan on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic areas.

This afternoon Granic will have talks with his host Andrey Kozyrev and visit the Croatian Embassy in Moscow, which is currently being put in order.

Kozyrev Views G-7 Meeting With Japanese Officials

LD2506192393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1908 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met Japanese Ambassador to Russia Sumio Edamura and head of the Japanese Foreign Ministry's Europe and Oceania Department I. Nomuru here today to discuss preparations for a meeting of the "Seven" leaders and Russia in Tokyo and the bilateral meeting of Russian and Japanese heads to be held within the summit framework, reports the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department.

Comment by Japan's Muto on G-7 Plan Causes Reaction

Comment Provokes 'Surprise'

LD2506195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1911 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS— The statement by Japanese Foreign Minister Kabun Muto describing the plan for the setting up by the G-7 industrialized countries of four billion dollar privatization fund in Russia as "absurd" provokes at least surprise, spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing on Friday.

In one of his public speeches the Japanese foreign minister said the privatization fund might be established in the amount of "500 million or less". Setting in advance and in a unilateral manner the "limits" for cooperation between Russia and the G-7 countries, the Japanese governmental minister actually takes a stance which can be hardly viewed as an evidence of a constructive approach to the Tokyo multilateral summit, Yastrzhembskiy noted.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed hope that the Tokyo G-7 meeting would produce substantial results, which would be in full agreement with the tasks of Russia and Western countries in their movement to effective and mutually beneficial partnership.

Chubays Criticizes Remarks

OW2606073893 Tokyo KYODO in English 0723 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 26 KYODO—Russian Deputy Premier Anatoliy Chubays rapped Japanese Foreign Minister Kabun Muto Friday [25 June] for his remarks that a U.S.-proposed 4 billion dollar fund for Russia's privatization project will be sharply reduced.

In an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Chubays, who manages Russia's state property, said Muto should not be allowed to speak about trimming a 4 billion dollar fund to 500 million dollars as if it were a final decision.

The deputy prime minister showed dissatisfaction with Japan's backward attitude toward the financial assistance plan, saying that privitization is being implemented nationwide and 500 million dollars is not enough to bolster privatized firms.

On Thursday, Muto withdrew his remarks made Tuesday that the size of the fund to help Russia privatize its state-run enterprises would be scaled back to "around 500 million dollars or a bit lower" at the July 7-9 Tokyo summit of the Group of Seven (G-7) major industrialized countries.

Chubays, however, indicated that he does not expect the Tokyo summit to come up with the 4 billion-dollar fund in one lump sum.

"(Russia) is ready to accept 500 million dollars as the first step to realize the entire fund project," he said.

He also revealed an idea to allocate half of the 4 billion dollars for local funds expected to be set up throughout Russia and use the remaining half in loans for privatized firms.

The U.S. proposal for the Russian privatization fund is regarded as the pillar of aid issues for financially-strapped Russia to be discussed at the Tokyo summit.

However, G-7 nations have shown reluctance to come up with large-scale assistance for Russia due to financial difficulties of their own.

President Boris Yeltsin will join a post-summit conference with the G-7 countries—Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States.

In the foreign and finance ministerial conference of G-7 members in Tokyo in April, they agreed to provide Russia with some 43 billion dollars in economic assistance.

Foreign Ministry Reacts

MK2606112693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 4

[Anastasiya Romashkevich report: "Briefing at Russian Foreign Ministry. Foreign Ministry Responds to Japanese Politician's Statement"]

[Text] A briefing on current international events was held at the Russian Foreign Ministry press center yesterday by Information Department Director Sergey Yastrzhembskiy. He read out the Foreign Ministry's statement regarding a pronouncement by Japanese Foreign Minister Kabun Muto about the "inadvisability" of granting Russia $4 billion, as earlier proposed, for the fund for the support of privatization in Russia. In addition, the briefing dwelled on the situation in Estonia and in Bosnia.

Regarding the statement by Japanese Foreign Minister

The Russian Foreign Ministry statement emphasizes that Muto's view of the formation of the privatization support fund "at least evokes surprise." The Foreign Ministry points out specifically that the proposal to slash the proposed size of the fund from $4 billion to $500 million was advanced on the eve of the G-7 summit meeting, which is to review this matter. In this connection, the Foreign Ministry sees Muto's statement as "not testifying to his constructive approach to the problem."

Regarding Russia's Estonian policy

Commenting on the situation that evolved as a result of Estonia's adoption of the Law on Foreigners, Mr. Yastrzhembskiy said that the Foreign Ministry had its own ideas on the subject, but further action was still being worked out. When asked by your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent about today's discussion of a decree to that effect by the Russian parliament, Mr. Yastrzhembskiy said that, in his view, the legislators have the right to look at the situation from "their parochial point of view." He declined to comment, however, on the text of the draft decree because the discussion was not over yet.

On Yugoslav conflict settlement

When asked by your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent whether the Russian Foreign Ministry planned to stick with the Vance-Owen plan, Mr. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said that the complete implementation of the plan was now out of the question. However, he said, the Vance-Owen plan does contain constructive provisions that could be used in drawing up new plans to resolve the conflict in Bosnia.

On personnel reshuffles in Russian Foreign Ministry

Mr. Yastrzhembskiy touched upon reports carried by the Russian mass media about upcoming new reshuffles at the Foreign Ministry. According to the reports, Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze allegedly will soon be appointed ambassador to Australia, and another deputy minister, Vitaliy Churkin, ambassador to Belgium. Noting that the newspapers that published this information cited an upcoming Foreign Ministry collegium meeting, Mr. Yastrzhembskiy pointed out that commenting on such things is generally inappropriate, thus declining to confirm or deny the reports.

Aide To Discuss Yeltsin's State Visit to Japan

OW2706034593 Tokyo KYODO in English 0326 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 26 KYODO—President Boris Yeltsin's close aide Gennadiy Burbulis said Saturday [26 June] that he will visit Japan in September for talks with the Japanese Government on an official visit by Yeltsin to Japan.

In an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, the former state secretary said another item of discussion during his visit will be the prolonged dispute over Russian-held four islands off Hokkaido claimed by Japan. Burbulis said his visit is at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

Yeltsin had twice canceled planned visits to Japan since last September. He allegedly cited Japan's "stiff stance" on the territorial issue as the reason to put off the September trip. He postponed his planned visit again in May due to a technical reason.

In a letter sent to Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, the Russian president said he would consider a visit to Japan sometime in the September-October period, Japanese Government sources said.

"My visit will be effective in resolving impending bilateral problems," Burbulis said.

His visit, however, implies that Yeltsin and Miyazawa will not refer to concrete bilateral problems, including the territorial issue, when Yeltsin arrives in Tokyo to talk with world leaders during the July 7-9 summit of the Group of Seven (G-7) major industrialized countries, the sources said.

Although Burbulis refused to touch upon details, he expressed hopes of making progress in pushing forward the stalled isle issue in talks with the new Japanese cabinet, which will be formed after the July 18 parliament election.

The Soviet Army seized four islands, Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai group of islets from Japan at the end of World War II. The islands, known in Japan as the Northern Territories, are east of Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkaido

Dispute over the islands continues to plague relations between the two countries.

Yeltsin, Kohl Discuss G-7 Preparations in Phone Call

LD2506144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1405 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Boris Yeltsin had a telephone conversation today with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Questions connected with preparations for the G-7 summit in Tokyo were discussed. This was reported by the press service of the president of the Russian Federation.

UK Relations Treaty Ratified

LD2506174693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1713 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS— The Russian-British treaty on principles of bilateral relations has entered into force, as British minister of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Douglas Hogg and Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin exchanged diplomatic documents to confirm the completion of the treaty ratification procedure here today.

Vitaliy Churkin told correspondents the sides officially confirmed during the negotiations limits on the amount of personnel at British representations in Moscow and Russian representations in London will be canceled on July 1.

In his words, the sides also dwelt on the Yugoslav problem. The exchange of opinions confirmed the high degree of coincidence of the Russian and British estimations of Bosnian developments.

Describing the negotiations on Bosnian problem, the Russian diplomat voiced an opinion "The Muslim side should not turn its back on wordings elaborated in Geneva discussions. If the Muslims have any problems with these wordings, they should clearly say which of the proposals do not satisfy them."

The refusal from discussion will mean another conflict coil, said Churkin. The suggested way may lead to solutions "to satisfy fundamental concerns of the Muslim side".

Cooperation Plan With NATO Drafted

LD2606113293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0706 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels June 26 TASS—The command of the NATO Allied Armed Forces in Europe announced on Friday [25 Jun] that it approved a cooperation plan with Russia in the military sphere. A communique circulated here notes that the plan was worked out as a result of talks between NATO Allied Commander in Europe John Shalikashvili and Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev in Moscow last winter.

The plan provides for delivering lectures by representatives from Russian Armed Forces at the NATO school in Oberammergau, Germany, and by NATO officers at Russian military academies. Russian cadets will be sent to the NATO school where they will attend courses on peace-keeping and environmental control. Russian military representatives will participate in NATO conferences on peace-making and cooperation between civilian and military structures.

Provision is also made for visits by NATO delegations to the headquarters of the Northern and Baltic Fleets as well as to the Moscow and St. Peterburg Military Districts. The plan incorporates proposals on mutual publication of articles by high-ranking officers in military periodicals. The communique describes the plan as an important step to expanding contacts between NATO and Russian Armed Forces.

UNESCO Director General on Official Visit

Views Plans To Provide Assistance

LD2506172393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1712 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The first official Moscow visit of UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor aims to support Russia's transition to an absolutely democratic power system and contribute to the development of freedom of press and preservation of the Russian cultural heritage, the UNESCO director-general told a news conference here today.

Mayor expressed satisfaction with his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and said they signed a memorandum on Russian-UNESCO cooperation. The meeting discussed preservation of Russian cultural heritage, maintenance of new school curricula and other issues.

UNESCO is helping Russia to reconstruct Moscow's Bolshoy Theatre, the Russian state library, the Petersburg hermitage, archive funds and other facilities.

Mayor said the organization aims to boost its activities, including those in preservation of cultural monuments, development of the educational system, means of communications and telecommunications, training of Russian correspondents and implementation of joint projects in various spheres.

Meets With Kozyrev

LD2506192793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1511 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev received today UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, currently here on an official visit.

The Russian minister praised activities of the international organization to develop and consolidate cultural contacts between countries.

Mayor stressed the Russian considerable role in international cooperation in science and culture and assured it can further count on full support of the international community in building democracy.

Completes Official Visit

LD2606173193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1718 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Igor Veksler]

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor completed his first official Russian visit and left Moscow today.

When in the Russian capital, the UNESCO official was received by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, met First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and had negotiations with Russian Minister of Science and Technical Policy Boris Saltykov.

A memorandum on Russian-UNESCO interaction in education, science, culture and information, including the elimination of the Chernobyl aftermath, was signed in Moscow as well.

Federico Mayor told a news conference here on Friday UNESCO will supervise the reconstruction of the

Moscow Bolshoy Theatre, render assistance to the Russian state library, the Petersburg hermitage and implement joint programs on preservation of Russian cultural heritage, creation of new school curricula and development of mass media.

* * *

Moscow June 26 TASS—Today the official visited the Grand Kremlin Palace, the St. George's Hall and Kremlin cathedrals.

The inclusion of Russian architecture masterpieces in the list of world heritage is the fact of international recognition of the role and significance of Russian architecture as part of world cultural values, said Mayor.

Kremlin is the world's important architectural ensemble, which has preserved its state and spiritual functions for centuries. UNESCO will contribute to the preservation of this historical human value for future generations, he stressed.

Mayor also visited the Russian state library to tour its halls, book storages and the book museum. He inquired about the library's projects and programs, so that UNESCO render organizational, consultative and financial aid in their implementation.

The projects include the creation of an international subscriber center, publication of rare manuscripts and computerization of the library.

The guest promised UNESCO assistance in the completion of reconstruction of the Pashkov house.

Hungarian President Arrives in Mordovia

LD2606222393 Budapest MTI in English 1838 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 26 (MTI)—Hungarian President Arpad Goncz began talks with President Vitaliy Biryukov of the Mordvinian Republic [as received] in Saransk on Saturday [26 Jun].

Goncz said that Hungary, commensurate with its possibilities, sought to develop its ties with the Mordvinian Republic in all fields, including the economy, and was prepared to transfer its experience in economic transformation.

His hosts proposed setting up a Mordvinian-Hungarian Friendship Society.

Goncz proposed strengthening inter-parliamentary ties, and termed cooperation between parliamentary committees as particularly useful.

Goncz invited the Mordvinian Republic to the 1996 Budapest World Expo.

In the afternoon the president visited the Mordvin State University to hold discussions on strengthening cultural ties. Hungary could assist the university in manager-training, plant improvement and in biochemistry, he said. The leaders of the university have been invited to a conference of Finno-Ugric rectors in Szombathely in late September, which will focus on the issue of national intelligentsia.

On Sunday, Goncz is scheduled to visit a factory, and meet members of the Executive Committee of the Mordvinian People's Congress, and activists of "Mastorava", a movement for national revival.

The Hungarian president will then leave for the Udmurt Republic, the next leg of his two-week tour in Eurasian states with Finno- Ugric inhabitants.

Earlier, in Yoshkar Ola, the Hungarian president held a brief closing consultation with President Vladislav Zotin of the Mari El Republic, then the two politicians attended the signing ceremony of a bilateral trade agreement and a trade protocol for 1993-1994.

In the subsequent press conference, President Zotin said Mari El would like to develop sound economic relations, primarily direct inter-company links, with the Hungarian brothers.

Meeting representatives of the Mari National Movement on Friday, Goncz pledged support in the training of experts in foreign trade and agriculture. He asked the leaders of the movement to seek to settle the country's problems in close alliance with other peoples living in ther republic.

In reply to a question, Goncz said his scheduled meeting with President Yeltsin would focus on Hungarian-Russian contacts rather than relations between the Finno-Ugric peoples. He said he would also like to touch upon the issue of war in Yugoslavia.

As for the Finno-Ugric peoples, Goncz expressed the hope that President Yeltsin, who is well aware of the problems of ethnic Russians living abroad, would hear his report on his visit to the Finno-Ugric republics with due empathy. On the basis of their former meetings, Goncz said that the Russian president had never applied double standards.

Signs Agreements

LD2706180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1311 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Papeta]

[Text] Saransk, 27 June—Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, who is visiting Russia's national state entities, today completed his two-day visit to Mordovia.

In Mordovia, Arpad Goncz had meetings and talks with republican leaders, activists from public organizations, and local businessmen. He also visited the Mordovian university, a hospital, the museum housing works of the sculptor Stepan Erzya, and a number of enterprises.

During his visit he signed a treaty and a protocol on trade and economic cooperation between the Hungarian republic and the Mordovian SSR.

During a news conference on the results of the visit, the Hungarian president answered journalists' questions. In particular, it was noted that the itinerary of the visit did not include a meeting with the ousted Mordovan President Vasiliy Guslyannikov.

Hungarian Treaty Removed From Parliament's Agenda

LD2506212793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The foreign affairs committee of the Russian parliament has removed from its agenda the issue of the ratification of the Hungarian-Russian state treaty. The chairman of the body suggested that Budapest and Moscow start further talks on abolishing the clause on events in 1956. According to Abartsumov, a precedent would be created if the Russian apology for the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary in 1956 remained in the treaty.

$20 Million of Algerian Debt To Be 'Put on Tenders'

LD2506210393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1655 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By BIZ-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—An essential decision to put on tenders 20 million dollars worth of the Algerian foreign debt to Russia was adopted here today, head of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations' main department of export-import operations for the state needs Andrey Dogayev told BIZ-TASS.

After the tenders, any Russian commercial structure will have the right to buy any goods in Algeria on account of the debt payment, in contrast to only few foreign economic associations that had this right before.

Yefimov, Albania's Bitincka Sign Transportation Agreement

AU2506190993 Tirana ATA in English 1004 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 25 (ATA)—An agreement on air and road transportation between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Russian Federation was signed in Moscow on Wednesday [23 June]. For the Albanian party, the agreement was signed by the Minister of Transportation Fatos Bitincka and for the Russian Party by his counterpart Vitaliy Yefimov. Attending the signing ceremony was also the ambassador of Albania in Moscow, Arben Cici.

Military Delegation Begins Visit to Mongolia

LD2806093393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0755 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dugar Sandzhiyev]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 28 Jun (TASS)—A delegation of the Russian Federation Armed Forces led by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, first deputy defense minister and head of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff, has begun an official visit to Ulaanbaatar today.

This is the first official visit by a Russsian military delegation to the Mongolian capital since the conclusion of the withdrawal of a limited contingent of the former Soviet forces from Mongolia in 1992. The aim of the delegation is to work out a bilateral agreement on cooperation in the military field in the new geopolitical and economic conditions.

The Russian delegation will be received today by Lieutenant General Shagalyn Jadambaa, the Mongolian defense minister. On the same day talks have began between representatives of the Russian and Mongolian Armed Forces. Representing Mongolia at the talks will be Major General Rashmaagiyn Gavaa, head of the Mongolian Armed Forces General Staff.

Tatarstan Wants To Develop Relations With Iran

LD2706082693 Tehran IRNA in English 0623 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 27, IRNA—Vice-President of Tatarstan Vasiliy Likhachev said in an interview with IRNA here Saturday [26 June] that his country is keen on developing relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

He said during a visit to Kazan by an Iranian delegation last week the officials of the two countries had reviewed outlooks in the relations between Iran and Tatarstan. He added there are many religiously different communities in Tatarstan, but that Islam has the highest rank among other faiths in that republic.

The Tatar official noted that as many as 350 mosques had been rehabilitated in Tatarstan and that Muslim clerics enjoyed total freedom to practice their faith.

He deplored the relatively lower level of economic and cultural relations between Tatarstan and Muslim countries in comparison with former's relations with the United States and other Western countries, and expressed hope that Muslim Governments would show interest to broaden their relations with the newly independent republic in that part of the world.

Constitution Issues

Constitutional Conference Plenary Session Previewed

LD2506161493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1534 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—"The invariable concept of the main law and due regard for the opinion of a 'profile group', the conformity of the articles of the constitution to international declarations and charters, signed by Russia, are the main principles which guided the working group for the coordination of the draft of the constitution," head of the president's administration, Sergey Filatov, said on Friday [25 June].

A plenary session of the Constitutional Assembly on Saturday will begin with a report by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, "in which he will explain principles of working at amendments made by sectors of the assembly", Filatov said.

Afterwards, representatives of each section will take the floor. A number of "key provisions" are expected to be put to the soft vote in order "to find out the attitude of the majority of the conference." These key provisions include articles on local governments, on the supreme judicial authority, the formulation of which has been "left out" of the draft law, on the status of the president, on the procedure of the president's impeachment, on the composition of the duma (State Council) and the Federal Assembly, Filatov said.

In his opinion, a painful problem of the rights of the subjects of the federation, should be resolved not by voting, but rather by means on conciliatory procedures on principles of wisdom and equality, so as not to reduce, but rather "add" to republics, krays and oblasts those powers which they believe to have been taken away from them." [quotation marks as received]

Filatov sees no reason why Tatarstan has taken a "special stand" on the constitutional process, since contractual relations with Russia, on which Tatarstan insists, have already been included in the text of the constitution.

After the plenary session a suspension will be announced, and a group set up to finalize the draft of the constitution will continue its work. The final draft of the constitution is expected to be submitted to participants of the Constitutional Assembly at the beginning of July, Filatov said.

Yeltsin Comments Before Meeting

LD2606110293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0655 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Remarks by President Boris Yeltsin to unidentified journalists prior to the Constitutional Conference meeting, in the Kremlin press office in Moscow on 26 June—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] On his way to the [Constitutional Conference] meeting today, President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin passed by the correspondents room here. Naturally, he was immediately surrounded by journalists, and he made a few short comments on the upcoming meeting. Let's listen to what he had to say:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The new constitutional arbitration commission has been getting on with its work. This commission comprises judges from the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Court of Arbitration, together with five academicians, legal experts.

As to structures of state and legislative authority and so on, they are of no concern to me. I merely opened the proceedings, then left them to it. They decided for themselves on procedures, and which matters were to be decided was determined in a purely objective and juridical way—whether it was to be this way, or that way, or the other way. They worked very well. The working commission has effectively done its work, and a unified draft of the constitution now exists.

Of course, there are some matters still outstanding which have to be somehow sorted out. The draft will have to go back to the working groups, bearing in mind that it will be impossible to take account of 4,000 amendments, and even one amendment not taken into account would be a source of grievance. So the integrated draft which has come from the working conciliation commission will have to go back to the groups to be looked at again.

Today we shall hold a general debate on those issues that are still outstanding. I believe this is likely to be the penultimate plenary meeting. The final plenary has not yet been fixed; it depends on what comes out of today. Then the working commission and the arbitration commission will look at it again, and that will be the finished draft. Then it will just be necessary to work things out. [end recording]

[Correspondent] I should add that according to information available so far, unless a decision to the contrary is made, the next plenary meeting may be held on 3 July.

Proceedings From 26 Jun Plenary Session Reported

Parliament Members Arrive

LD2606073193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0645 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 26 June—Despite yesterday's appeal by the Russian parliament for members of the Supreme Soviet to refuse to take part in the work of the Constitutional Conference, many of them arrived today at the Kremlin for the plenary session.

Russian Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov, in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, said: "The Supreme Soviet has only one official representative at the Constitutional Conference—Ruslan Khasbulatov. I think the appeal concerns only him."

Yeltsin Addresses Conference

LD2606082893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Address by President Boris Yeltsin to the plenary session of the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed participants in the Constitutional Conference: Over the days that have passed since the previous plenary session, the working commission has attempted to synthesize everything that was out by groups into one document. Of course, this is not an easy thing to do—during the first stage each group was working independently, various approaches and formulae were proposed for a range of problems, and no strict bounds were laid down; the work of participants in the conference was not restricted. This helped each group to realize its potential but the worries of the working group only increased.

Its task was to take as much account as possible of everything that was done by the groups on the basis of the statement that was adopted at the previous plenary session. The working commission examined many corrections, comments, and proposals to the text that had been introduced by participants in the conference. It was often the case that at group meetings a choice was made in favor of one political approach or another. The working commission attempted to find an adequate embodiment for them in the language of the law.

A session of the commission on constitutional arbitration was held yesterday. It was made up of judges from the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the High Arbitration Court—who are taking part in the work of our conference—as well as the well-known lawyers Kalmykov, Kudryavtsev, Topornin, Tumanov, and Yakovlev. The arbitration has independently developed a procedure, and, under the chairmanship of Academician Kudryavtsev, has come out with a decision on a range of disputed issues, which have been passed on to the working commission.

As a result of intense work by both participants in the conference and the working commission, we now have a unified draft Russian Constitution. I believe that it is ready, to put it in parliamentary language, for discussion at the first reading. The version we have today is very different from that which was initially proposed by the president and also from the Constitutional Commission's draft. It is a result of their creative development, a synthesis, and not a mechanical grouping together of various tenets and formulae. It takes account of all that is best in both drafts.

The document that has developed must now be subjected to testing and critical examination and be given an assessment by the Constitutional Conference. You have the text of the draft. I hope each of you has looked at the articles and sections that are of particular interest. We now have a subject for discussion. Our session today will be devoted to it. Comments and proposals have been made. The working commission will have to take them into account when working out the final text of the draft. I hope that our discussion will be a real, principled discussion and will not go outside the bounds of the discussion—the constitution itself. At the same time, it is probably worth devoting the discussion to the major problems first and foremost, those that are worthy of a plenary session.

On the order of work: Aleksandr Maksimovich Yakovlev will be the first to speak—for up to 30 minutes. Then there will be questions to him and his answers—30 minutes. Next, for one hour 45 minutes, there will be speeches from those attending the plenary session of the Constitution Conference—five minutes each. We finish work at 1345.

Yakovlev Reports on Draft

LD2606102893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0714 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Address by Aleksandr Yakovlev, Constitutional Conference coordinator, at the Constitutional Conference plenary session in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed participants of the Constitutional Conference: Our work has naturally resulted in someone having to take the floor to tell you on his own behalf what happened to the initial draft submitted for your consideration and the draft you have now been handed out.

I hope that the questions you will address to me will also be addressed to all the people present here. Thus I pin my hopes on a constructive dialogue rather than on my ability to give the answers to all those who seek them. I will do my best. So, I think that essentially we can do it this way.

You are all familiar with the initial draft submitted by the president. It was published. You have now been handed a brochure with the new draft. As you can see this draft is by no means the final one, but it is the result of the work which we undertook during those busy days. In my report I will try to bring to your attention the evolution undergone by the initial draft during this time; the evolution which was reflected in this document, the document which we will still have to work on. But I hope that this work will be constructive and that it will not demolish things which were done with the common agreement of the majority, not everybody but the majority.

However, democracy does not have any provisions for any other methods of solving problems. The minority might be dissatisfied, but, by agreeing with the opinion of the majority it preserves its right to defend its own opinions and possibly its opportunity to prove eventually that its opinions were the right ones; but to prove democratically, by means of dialogue, reconciliation and putting forward new constructive ideas. I hope that the style of our work and our discussions, which has manifested itself so vividly during these days and which, in my opinion, has already been recognized by the public, will be in evidence at this sitting and at a later stage of our work.

So, some general information on the work which was done on the draft: You remember that this draft was submitted on 5 June, and already by 25 June we received over 5,000 remarks and suggestions from citizens, parties, other public movements, entrepreneurs, components of the Federation, people's deputies, and state federal bodies.

Of course, their attempts to generalize, to eliminate repetitions, to condense, and point out the central thoughts under which all this limitless sea of often contradictory proposals is grouped, became an unavoidable stage. As a result, over 500 amendments to the text were presented. Over 200 points from the initial draft were changed. Practically just three articles from the initial draft remained unchanged. So what we have today does not deserve any label: presidential draft, constitutional commission draft, or anything else. It is now your draft, the draft of the majority which approved one point or another.

Even though I fully understand that there was no unanimity, no unanimity, I do not think there should have been. I think that it is unanimity which means the end of democracy. There should always be a minority in opposition. It is important that this opposition should constructively (?aid in) the further development of our common drafts, our common affairs. The structural changes to the draft are quite serious.

A chapter has been put together on the basis of the constitutional structure, which was not in the initial draft. This is fundamentally important. This was the serious influence which the Supreme Soviet constitutional commission draft had on the draft in question. What is the point of setting out a chapter of this kind? The point is fundamental. The constitution must inevitably distinguish between principles and concrete norms. What comes first? Principles, of course.

Let us pose a simple question: Can we consider that everything that is introduced into the constitution is constitutional? It seems to be a paradox—if it is put in the constitution, it must be constitutional. But this is not the case. The bitter experience of the last few days has shown us that occasionally things can be introduced into the constitution which contradict what? Constitutional principles.

So, measuring everything following that is laid down in the constitution against constitutional principles, everything that will be published to develop the constitution, and everything that will be proposed for inclusion in the constitution, measuring against certain principles will mean retaining the meaning, spirit and center of the constitution. I repeat: Human reason is not guaranteed against mistakes, delusion or moot proposals for the constitution. The constitution can propose nothing but to measure these novelties against an unshakable basis. This draft has taken this step.

The fundamentals of the constitutional system were set out here and it is stated that these fundamentals are unshakeable. If this constitution becomes the fundamental law, no future legislation can shake the fundamentals of the constitutional system. You have the text before your eyes.

Chapter 2—rights and liberties of man and citizen—was drawn up. This is also something which was not in the original draft. The norms of the first two chapters of the original draft and a number of new provisions were included here. The draft you are considering now includes an article on shared authority of the federal bodies of state power and the components of the Federation.

In any case the idea was expounded here that the Federation Treaty should be an integral part of the Constitution. It is the basis and is an integral part, and in many articles of the Constitution, not only in this section on shared responsiblity, you can see respect and serious influence which the norms of the Federation Treaty as a whole exerted upon concrete provisions of this constitution.

In this connection straightaway I would like to draw your attention to Article 10 which says—and it is very important, especially during the period we are going through at present—that state power of the Russian Federation is performed in accordance with the Constitution and treaties on the separation of areas of responsibility and powers between bodies of state power of the Federation and the components of the Federation. Consequently, we are preserving here everything that which we achieved during previous constitutional development.

In the chapter on the fundamentals of the constitutional system several things should be mentioned here as important and as something which was not in the original draft. Prohibition to usurp state power. The supremacy of the constitution and federal laws on the territory of the Russian Federation. The status of the republics as sovereign states and other components of the Federation as state-territorial formations was consolidated.

I quiver as I pronounce this formula as I realize how ambigously it is being perceived. I would like to say the following here: The formula was the result of hard work of the group of the representatives of the components of the Federation and it is a subject of social accord. The formula can be assessed in various ways. It can be argued—how can a sovereign state be in a sovereign state? Why are other subjects not sovereign? Many other purely logical, juridical and perhaps interesting judgements can be applied to the formula.

But I ask you to regard this as embodying, generally speaking, the supreme purpose of the constitution. A constitution is, of course, a product of legal thought, logical thought. But a real constitution is not just a perfect document. A real constitution, if it is real, is a product of social agreement. If this important agreement has been achieved in this point, then, precisely for the sake of this agreement, one can, it seems to me, respect this formula, even though I, as a lawyer, could perhaps propose a more perfect formula.

But that is not the main thing in a constitution. The main thing in a constitution is that it should really express the agreement of the majority. It will, I repeat, never express the agreement of all 100 percent. We have, you know, already been through agreement of that sort. But I personally am inclined to respect the agreement of the majority, if expressed in this formula, precisely as a result of this condition for achieving concord, which is most substantial for the creation of a constitution. I think that by this yardstick, above all, we must measure all the recommendations that were ever proposed by you and by any lawyer at any level. But does that agree with the will of the majority? I think that this agreement was expressed in the formula.

We also find here, in the fundamentals of the constitutional system, the right of the peoples to self-determination and equality within the Russian Federation. Incidentally, the formula I was talking about on the status of the republics and on the status of any components of the Federation is indissolubly linked with the second part of that formula—specifically, the equality of all components of the Federation in their relations with the federal power. These two principles are inseparable from one another, equality—real, economic, above all, economic equality—because later it will be necessary to work on putting this equality into effect. Many representatives of oblasts and krays have spoken about this.

The formula gives an opportunity to make equal rights a reality, first of all, in the socio-economic field. Also, the fundamentals proclaim a single economic space in Russia, a free movement of goods, services and financial means. The provisions on land, natural resources as the fundamentals of life and activities of the peoples and other important provisions were included. I would like to stress that the fundamentals of the constitutional system are something against which all other norms of the Constitution and all possible changes in this most important document in the future should be measured.

Chapter 2—rights and liberties of man and citizen—here also we can mention a whole number of important amendments compared with the original draft. For example, among others the right to form trade unions is underlined here—Part 1, Article 29. Certainly, thinking logically, trade unions are also an association and it would seem that one can restrict oneself by mentioning the freedom to form associations, including trade unions. But the majority did not agree. Particularly under our circumstances and in accordance with a number of international treaties, the right to form trade unions should be formulated in the framework of the right to form associations, but separately and absolutely unequivocally, and this is what was done in this draft.

In the chapter on rights and liberties of man and citizen, a considerable part of social rights are attracting attention which were formulated in the constitutional draft of the Constitutional Commission and became an integral part of Chapter 2. The right to leisure, the right to protection of health, the right to favorable environment and free higher education. The right to apply to interstate bodies for the protection of rights and liberties is guaranteed here and this is in accordance with the international agreements signed by our country. It is also consolidated here that it is possible that these rights and liberties can be restricted during a state of emergency. If you have a look you will see these rights and liberties are restricted both in time and in space. This is also in accordance with international standards. Norm 57—I liked it a lot—says that laws introducing new taxes cannot be retrospective. In my opinion, this is an important amendment in view of the present practice in our economy.

Chapter 3—the Russian Federation. You know, a lot was set out before we reached this chapter. The components [of the Federation], equal rights of the components. That is, the Russian Federation already begins to take shape in the previous norms of the Constitution.

I can only outline the novelties here—I am not going to list everything there is, you can have a look yourselves, just the novelties. Money emission will be carried out by the Central Bank alone. As distinct from the initial draft, the federal law does not define the tax system on the whole, but only the federal tax system and general taxation principles. The principles are the same but federal taxes will have their own system. This was the decision—I am not an expert in finance, I cannot judge how useful this is—but as far as I remember this was the agreement reached by the majority on this novelty, which makes it different from the previous draft.

Chapter 4—the president of the Russian Federation. The provisions on the Security Council in Article 78 of the original draft have been excluded since we proposed and it was our common view that the president has the right to form the bodies of a consultative nature and he does not need a special provision in the constitution for this since today there can be a need in one body and tomorrow in another. It was not because we had anything against the president having a powerful consultative body. Simply we decided that it did not need to be consolidated in the constitution.

The provisions saying that the president was an arbitrator in resolving disputes which caused a lot of controversy have been excluded. I think in this also the common will of the majority was expressed and it was implemented here, as you can see, although the function of the president as head of state implies a certain mediatory function in settling problems between various branches of power. On the strength of his powers, on the strength of his position, the president inevitably performs this function and should perform it in the future.

We have reduced the president's period in office from five to four years. The wording concerning the presidential decrees and instructions has been curtailed. Not all decrees and instructions, but those which fall within the presidential authority envisaged by the constitution and federal laws, and not those which are outside the presidential authority. This is a significant limitation; this is the priority of law over any acts of the presidential power.

The problem of impeachment. You remember the recent events when the grounds for dismissing the president were formulated so broadly in the present constitution? Remember that any instance in which the president's actions are seen as being at variance with the constitution could be used to remove him from office.

But impeachment is something completely different. It is impossible that the president's acts should always accord with the constitution. There would be no disputes. Otherwise, what would there be for the Constitutional Court to do? One cannot use each occasion on which the Constitutional Court says that the president was wrong-...[interrupted by laughter] I am sorry—a slip of the tongue. [more laughter, applause]

Yes, but one cannot use every occasion when the Constitutional Court says that the president was wrong to impeach the president and remove him from office. That would be a dictatorship of the legislators, and nothing more, nothing less.

We therefore came to the conclusion that to remove the president, the head of state, from office, the charge must be a serious one. Not just a charge that he has diverged from the constitution—that kind of charge can be examined and the president can be found to be in the right or in the wrong, and if the latter he will have to correct his action and then get on with things. Impeachment is something rather different. Impeachment is for someone guilty of treason or attempting to usurp power. Those are serious crimes of a quite different kind. And so this is, so to speak, quite a different matter and this is precisely the kind of matter that we have taken as the basis for impeachment.

Not only that, but we have provided for a series of guarantees that the procedure should be conducted in a proper way. Impeachment procedures are initiated by the lower chamber—the State Duma—and the charge is then considered by the Supreme Court of Russia. The actual initiation of the procedure is checked for constitutionality by the Constitutional Court. And then the Council of the Federation makes a final decision on the matter by a qualified majority. That is a very important principle. It will, incidentally, help us later on, when we talk about the delimitation of one chamber's powers and those of the other.

What is the point of principle here? Essentially, that he who initiates the charge does not make the decision. Nobody can be the judge in his own case. And that he who does make the decision should have no involvement in the accusation, so that he can be objective in assessing the charge.

Let me repeat: He who accuses does not decide; nobody can be prosecutor and judge at the same time. And he who decides should have no part in levelling the charge; rather, he views the charge that has been made and, being impartial, uninvolved in making the charge, is in a position to decide the matter with maximum objectivity. This is a well-tried procedure for constructing democratic institutions, a well-tried procedure for resolving the most difficult issues, especially where the removal from office of the head of state is involved.

Finally, the Federal Assembly. You will see that there are fundamental differences here from many previous drafts. The tradition stretching back 70 years by which what was described as the representative body was only...[pauses] by which the difference between the chambers was proclaimed but was not really sensed in reality, that has been done away with, so to speak, quite fundamentally.

What we have here are clearly delineated and formulated powers of the chambers making up the Federal Assembly—the State Duma and the Council of the Federation. I am not going to recite it all to you—you can see it in the text—but it is truly fundamental and I believe it represents the way to construct a truly effective and democratic legislative assembly.

Other powers which are new compared to what was in the previous draft include the removal of the provision that only the president or the government can submit the budget or other financial measures to the Federal Assembly. This featured in the original but many people objected, asking why there should be such a monopoly and what has happened to the role of the deputies. And so the final formula, as you will see, is as follows: Namely that such bills can be proposed only with the approval of the government. In other words, to disregard the government in proposing such important financial measures would... [pauses] and then the government would have to sort out something in which it did not have any part whatsoever, and practical experience has shown that destruction lies that way.

But if the government's conclusion has been received and a bill is being proposed, this is likely to be a real bill—or, at any rate, a bill on which the government has already stated its opinion—and this opinion cannot be ignored when adopting a corresponding bill on finance. It is not for me to tell you how we sometimes handle bills with financial implications, and how.... [pauses] We seem to have groped our way to the much-needed agreement between the executive and legislative power on these matters.

The country's finances are entirely the parliament's prerogative. This, too, belongs to the ABC's of democracy. Only the parliament may dispense the cash. At the same time, in doing this it must be restricted by the present situation and by the state of executive power for which the government is responsible. Therefore, to adopt any law against its will or without taking its conclusion into account would certainly lead to a rather unpleasant situation for the whole society.

Also, you will see that we have introduced the notion of a federal constitutional law. There are ordinary laws, federal laws, and there are constitutional federal laws. I must say that all laws adopted by the federal parliament are of course federal laws, so to speak, laws applicable to the entire Federation. However, there are ordinary laws, and there are constitutional laws.

There is a significant difference between them, not only in their adoption procedure—an ordinary law is adopted by a majority vote, while a constitutional law requires two-thirds of the vote—but also in that in a number of very important articles you will see that a specific principle has been established, and it is then stated that the implementation of this principle is regulated by a constitutional law.

That means that a constitutional law is an extension of the constitution. It is not part of it, but it develops in detail the points stated in a general form—and, indeed, they can only be stated in a general form—in the constitution. This will make it incumbent on the future parliament, whenever the constitution says that something or other is stipulated by a constitutional law, to adopt a corresponding constitutional law because this general statement will not work without it.

You understand that everything in connection with the constitution should have the authority, a supreme, higher level of agreement so that indeed it can become a document which makes it possible for the constitution to operate. Hence the difference between federal constitutional laws and simply federal laws.

The dissolution of the State Duma. It was correctly pointed out that this is a very sharp instrument of state policy. First of all, it can be said that the balance between legislative and executive powers manifests itself in these two institutions. What institutions?

The State Duma, parliament, expresses confidence and non-confidence in the government and the government can resign. On the other hand, the president, when he comes across this practice, should have the levers of influence on the State Duma itself so that both sides feel responsible to each other. This is the first. Without the right of the president to dissolve the State Duma, in my opinion, there cannot be the right of the State Duma to sack the government, so to speak. But it is important to ensure some serious guarantees. In the last option which has been given to you these serious guarantees are provided.

You can see two reasons for dissolving the State Duma here. One of them is non-confidence in the government—Article 12. The non-confidence can be expressed not earlier than a year after the State Duma has begun its work. The dissolution cannot be applied by the president when the proceedings to impeach the president have been instituted. There are other very important guarantees which you can see in this new text of the constitution, which take the international experience into account and which are in full accordance with the desire that this institution—since it remains in the constitution—should be clearly and strictly outlined. So that the president feels responsible when he makes the decision to dissolve the State Duma.

Incidentally, when we say dissolution we mean the dissolution and new elections to the State Duma. Everyone understands this but often the term dissolution makes one forget that it is not the liquidation of parliament but a request to the people to assess who is right. If the deputies of the dissolved parliament are right, they should be elected again. But if the people say no, they are not doing the right job, and new deputies, more adequate to the political situation in the country, should be elected.

Hence, the right to disband, outlined in the initial draft in very general terms, is accompanied by a number of serious guarantees in this draft. Chapter Six—the Government of the Russian Federation. The fundamental thing here is that the chairman of the government is appointed by the State Duma not by the Federation Council. This is the responsibility for you, this is the serious law for you. The legislative process itself, as you can see, is developing rather equivocally.

The State Duma alone can pass laws. But to become a law, a draft has to go through the Federation Council. The Federation Council, which is formed, as you know, on the basis of the representatives of the components of the Federation, has to give its ultimate approval. Once again, those who initiate laws, those who provide grounding for them and insist on them, do not decide anything themselves. On the other hand, those who have the right to decide are free from the abovementioned. They can have an overview, they can take account of the components' interests, and only then a draft law can become a law which, as far as I know, is also in accordance of basic democratic principles of the work of the parliament.

As for the government, I can only point out that it is appointed by the State Duma. The president can only suggest twice the same candidature for the post of the chairman of the government. In other words, he can still insist, but this candidature can no longer be nominated so that the president does not abuse his right and does not force this particular candidature each time. He has certain possibilities but there are also guarantees preventing him from abusing those possibilities.

I have already mentioned the restrictions regarding the dissolution of the State Duma, the restrictions so that the government would not endlessly resign, time after time, without sufficient guarantees to justify this resignation.

Judicial power: There was discussion—in the draft this chapter was called justice. But the majority insisted that since we have legislative and executive powers, this state structure should also be defined as judicial power. You can see that, compared with the original draft, we have expanded the powers of the Constitutional Court here. Now, on the basis of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court checks upon the correctness of applying legal practice to protect the constitutional rights and liberties. Now it is brought to the level of constitutional regulation.

Federal judges of supreme courts are appointed by the State Duma and not by the Council of the Federation as it was originally proposed. This is also new. Among the procuracy's powers it is pointed out in addition that it can bring an action to protect the rights and liberties of citizens. This considerably expands and increases the social prestige of the procuracy's activity in this sphere.

The provisions about the supreme judicial presence [vyssheye sudebnoye prisutstviye] were excluded. It was discussed and the majority were against the supreme judicial presence. But take notice of the fact that the functions which were envisaged to be performed by the supreme judicial presence have not been lost. They did not disappear into the air. In some form or another they were envisaged in other norms relating to the problems pointed out there.

The interpretation of the law. The interpretation of the law is a prerogative of the Constitutional Court, in my view, and it should be envisaged there. Other functions proposed for the supreme judicial presence in the original draft were envisaged in other forms. Article 119—in the original draft it said that the principle of the court is an adversarial procedure but there is a reservation there—with the exception of the cases envisaged by the law. It is not much of an adversarial procedure if certain cases are excepted. The formula—with the exception of the cases—was excluded. Now the adversarial principle is the only principle. It has been enhanced—there are the adversarial principle and equal rights of the parties.

Now, taking into consideration the flashing of this machine, I would like to draw your attention to the following circumstance. I will not talk about something you already know—that not only the president's draft but also the draft of the Constitutional Commission lay at the foundation.

Not only those but also international agreements and the Federation Treaty. Groups are equally entitled to refer to all of these. Many, I repeat, many—a certain proportion of us will of course be satisfied with everything here. But I call on you to bear in mind constantly that if this draft becomes the constitution then the sole thing we dream of is that this should be a constitution of national accord. I call on all of you to bear that in mind. Thank you.

Yeltsin Closes Session

LD2606104793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0941 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin to close the Constitutional Conference session at the Kremlin on 26 June—live]

[Text] Esteemed participants in the Constitutional Conference: I think you will agree that the report by Aleksandr Maksimovich [Yakovlev], the question and answer session, and the speeches made by participants in the conference have highlighted some new aspects of a number of key problems we have in the draft constitution, or which perhaps have not been sufficiently clarified.

The working commission and the constitutional arbitration commission will now do some intensive work. When they have brought together the comments and suggestions submitted, we will inform you of the date for the next plenary session of the Constitutional Conference.

This session is closed. Enjoy your meal. Good-bye.

Session Summarized

LD2606154293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1512 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Excerpts] Moscow June 26 TASS—"Intensive work of conference participants and the working commission has enabled us to have a single draft Russian constitution. I think it is ready for discussion in the first reading," Russian President Boris Yeltsin told the plenary meeting of the Constitutional Conference here today. [passage omitted]

The key problem in the Constitutional Conference work was federal structure of the Russian Federation, said Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray. In his words, the conference considered the most important "provision of the equality of citizens so that none feel a foreigner when moving from one to another part of the Federation". The issue was solved through the preservation of the single citizenship and guarantees of general standards of human rights and freedoms.

Another important problem is provision of the equality of Federation subjects. In Shakhray's opinion, the wording of the fundamental law is the best and the only possible at the current stage of federation development: republics within the Russian Federation shall be sovereign states. Territories, regions and autonomous formations shall be state-territorial formations. They shall enjoy equal rights in relations with federal power bodies.

After an over-90-minute discussion to put forward a number of additions and proposals to the draft constitution, primarily on the sections on federal structure of the Russian Federation, human rights and the mechanism of constitutional adoption, Boris Yeltsin summed up the results.

In his words, the Constitutional Commission and the Constitutional Arbitration Commission will start working on today's proposals, after which the date of another plenary meeting will be fixed.

[Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 26 June in its "Novosti" newscast reports: "According to the president's press secretary, the next plenary session can be expected in approximately 10 days."]

Regions Demand 'Constitutional Federation'

LD2606211793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Representatives of most of the krays and oblasts of the Russian Federation have drawn up main demands which, in their view, need to be fulfilled for the initialling of the draft of the new constitution. On Saturday the authorized representatives of 40 territories, out of a total of nearly 61, circulated a statement demanding that Russia be declared a constitutional federation, that equal rights be allocated to the subjects of the Federation, and that it be declared impossible for subjects of Russia to secede.

Parliament Explains Withdrawal

PM2806103193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

["We Cannot Sit at the Same Table as Those Aiding and Abetting Corruption. Address by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, Adopted 25 June 1993 at a Joint Session of the Russian Parliament's Chambers, to the Russian President and the Participants in the Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] The holding of the Constitutional Conference and the official participation of Supreme Soviet representatives in its work have demonstrated, despite different positions and viewpoints, yet another opportunity for a joint quest for agreed decisions by all branches of authority.

But the historic process of the elaboration and adoption of the Constitution cannot be jeopardized as a result of the participation in it of people who are abusing their official position, who are contributing to corruption and other crimes, thus undermining the foundations of Russian statehood.

Unfortunately, a number of present and past top officials of the Russian Federation executive authority, participating in the work of the Constitutional Conference, are involved in criminal proceedings relating to corruption, brought by the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office special commission on the cases set out in the Russian Federation vice president's report at the joint session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chambers 16 April 1993.

The Supreme Soviet believes that the shadow of lawlessness and immorality must not fall on the new Fundamental Law and on the president's authority.

In the present situation, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet considers that the soviets' representatives cannot continue to participate in the Constitutional Conference's work as long as there are people there who have discredited themselves.

We express the hope that the Russian president and the Constitutional Conference participants will appreciate the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's position.

Zorkin 'Completely Satisfied' With Conference

LD2606142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1250 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun—Russian Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin has said in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent that he is completely satisfied with the pace of the Constitutional Conference. "The feeling that there is no other way to achieve national accord, with which we went to the conference, is being confirmed today."

The Constitutional Court chairman is certain that in the presence of good will in the process of work on the Constitution, so-called "public agreement" will be achieved. He said that the process of agreement with the subjects of the Federation is a difficult problem but it can be settled. He believes that it is impossible "to force the republics to sign any document against their will using any measures." This constitution would not be capable.

Assessing the work of the arbitration commission at the conference, he noted that he would not like to call into question its role, although it is difficult to judge after the first sitting.

Tatar Parliament Statement on Conference Cited

LD2506123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1208 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan June 25 TASS—A statement made by the Tatarstan parliament to recall its representatives from the Russian constitutional assembly can be withdrawn if Tatarstan's proposals to include into the constitution contractual relations with federal agencies are taken into account by experts, developing a draft constitution, Tatarstan parliamentary speaker Farid Mukhametshin said on Friday [25 June].

In his opinion, the work at the treaty on mutual delegation of powers between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation should be continued. Seven out of twelve intergovernment agreements have been signed within the framework of the treaty, and cardinal disputes have been settled.

The decision to recall Tatarstan deputies from the constitutional conference was taken on Thursday. A statement made by the Tatarstan president and parliament chairman said that Tatarstan "was concerned about the course of the first stage of the constitutional assembly and its bodies."

"A legislative initiative put forward by Tatarstan on including into the constitution a statute on contractual-constitutional relations between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation was being ignored," the statement said.

"Considering that further participation in the work of the constitutional assembly and its bodies is impossible, we still adhere to the principle of developing relations between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation on the basis of a treaty on mutual delegation of powers," Tatarstan leaders declared.

Tatarstan's Likhachev on Withdrawal

LD2506193893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 1430 GMT on 25 June carries a 10-minute recorded "exclusive" interview with Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Nikolayevich Likhachev, conducted by Igor Grigoryev. The place and date of the interview are not given.

The two men first discuss the safeguards that any draft constitution should contain for minority nationalities' rights, and the justice of krays and oblasts having equal status with republics within the Russian Federation. Likhachev says that he is pleased with the progress so far in his working group at the Constitutional Conference, and cites two of his own amendments that have been accepted. He says that there is still much to be done, and predicts a tough discussion at the plenary session to be held on 26 June.

Grigoryev then asks: Why has Tatarstan pulled out of the Constitutional Conference?

Likhachev replies: "I think that the statement issued yesterday, signed by Tatarstan's President Shaymiyev and Supreme Soviet Chairman Mukhametshin is the completely logical result of this Constitutional Conference. My impression is that when a new constitution is being drafted for Russia, legislators should adhere to the political declarations that were in particular made when President Yeltsin came to power. You can not help remembering here that the Russian Federation's declaration of state sovereignty contained much that was politically progressive, in particular that Russia is assuming its commitments under international law, that it recognizes the right of peoples to national self-determination and to equality of rights, and will put these rights into practice.

"But judging from the work of the Constitutional Conference, I think that the constitution is inclining in certain respects toward conservative tenets rather than progressive ones. I categorically reject the assumption that the current draft constitution for Russia should be for a transitional period. It should be a long-term document, which is recognized by society, recognized by the [Federation] members, and which allows the whole mechanism of state to function properly. It should not be based on the short-term interests of certain political forces, but on objective political, economic and social and, dare I say, national rights."

Likhachev goes on to defend Tatarstan's conduct, saying that the republic's political development, from its declaration of state sovereignty on 30 August 1990 to its adoption of a Constitution last year, is legitimate and proper. He urges caution in making krays and oblasts the equals of republics in the Russian Federation, and points out that the republics reflect the presence of specific nationality groups, which does not always apply to regions.

Likhachev To Address Conference

LD2506171693 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Dmitriy Mikhaylin report under the general heading "Choice of Constitution—Choice of Destiny": "Anyone Can Offend Tatarstan"]

[Text] The Tatarstan president and Supreme Soviet chairman have issued a joint statement saying that the republic's plenipotentiary representatives deem it impossible for them to participate further in the work of the Constitutional Conference.

"In playing an active part in the discussion of the draft constitution of the Russian Federation, we were proceeding from the premise that the new Fundamental Law would reflect and enshrine in legal form the irreversible political changes that have taken place in the republic in recent years."

The draft drawn up at the first stage of the Constitutional Conference, it goes on to say, shows the desire to belittle and discredit the very idea of the establishment of a fundamentally new type of federal relations. It ignores the legislative initiative of the Republic of Tatarstan on the new vision of federalism in Russia and on incorporating in its Fundamental Law provisions relating to treaty-based constitutional relations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation, the statement says.

In an interview with ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent, Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan, expressed the hope that political wisdom will prevail in the work of the Constitutional Conference, in which case Tatarstan is prepared to continue work on the draft new Russian Constitution.

At President Yeltsin's request, Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev will adddress the Constitutional Conference 26 June to clarify the republic's position.

Likachev News Conference Cited

LD2606172793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Aleksandr Shashkov] In the words of Tatarstan President Mintimir Shaymiyev, there is a race on at the [constitutional] conference to come up with a draft constitution that suits certain political movements but not all the members of the Federation. To recap, Tatarstan's representatives have refused to take any further part in the Constitutional Conference.

[Correspondent R. Safronov] The Tatarstan authorities do not want to break away from Russia and want to continue the dialogue, Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev told a news conference today. The difficulty is that political parties, business circles, and representatives of federal authorities are as before trying to decide the fate of the republics, but hardly anyone is listening to what to people in the republics are saying, according to Likhachev and Rafael Khakimov, an advisor to the Tatarstan president.

Regarding the current text of the draft constitution, the vice president said that the right of peoples to self-determination and equal status is insufficiently developed. As is known, many krays and oblasts are claiming equal rights with republics. As far as that is concerned, Khakimov said:

[Begin Khakimov recording] I don't think that it is possible or desirable to make them all equal. We have to give everyone the right to live as they can and as they wish. [end recording]

Tatar President on Treaty With Russia

LD2606183293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Explaining the reasons for recalling Tatarstan's representatives from the Constitutional Conference in Kazan today, President Shaymiyev stated that the rights of the republics were being infringed at the conference, but irrespective of how the constitutional process proceeds Tatarstan will still agree to sign a bilateral treaty with Russia.

Further on News Conference

LD2606224093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] On 26 June Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev gave a news conference in Moscow that dealt with the position of the republic's leadership on the Constitutional Conference taking place. Eduard Gindaleyev has the details.

[Gindaleyev] Vasiliy Likhachev, the vice president of Tatarstan and doctor of international law, spoke clearly and correctly like a professor:

[Begin Likhachev recording] The positions of certain members of the working group, who at this concluding stage were fiercely against the fact that Russia is a state made up of many nationalities, were, for me, just like a cold shower. There were attempts to play down the multiethnic factor and make it out to be a factor causing Russia's destruction. I am totally convinced that if the Russian state wants to be a state in the broad sense of the word, and the leaders want to be sensible and work in accordance with objective tendencies, then they must not avoid these nationalities problems but manage them. [end recording]

[Gindaleyev] It was because of this that Tatarstan's representatives were recalled from the Constitutional Conference since, in Likhachev's words, the republic, that incidentally is made up of 48 percent Tatars and 43 percent Russians, must, it seems, become a state formed on a multiethnic basis.

[Begin Likhachev recording] Tatarstan is not making a demarche and is not adopting a particular stance. Tatarstan once again points out that there are objective realities that must be taken into account, and taken into account not because Tatarstan wants this and because only Tatarstan needs this—I am absolutely sure that this is also necessary for the process of the renewal of Russia. [end recording]

[Gindaleyev] Well, people will think in their own particular way. In the evening on 26 June, Vasiliy Likhachev flew to Kazan to consult with the president of Tatarstan. He will most likely suggest to him three ways for getting out of the situation that has arisen.

[Begin Likhachev recording] The first way is to see the formula of Article 61, that says that the Republic of Tatarstan builds relations with the Russian Federation on the basis of an association, within the framework of a treaty on mutually delegating the powers of everything that comes under the remit of law, or to introduce to the text of the constitution la regle generale—a general rule that would cover a situation, and such specific situations like Tatarstan, Chechnya, and the special claims of Bashkortostan, Yakutia, and other republics. If both legal ways are not taken and do not yield results, then Tatarstan will be left with just one way to achieve a bilateral agreement with the Russian Federation and, within the framework of this bilateral process, one way to look for a constitutional outcome. [end recording]

[Gindaleyev] As to the last question about whether Tatarstan will be able to rebuild the KamAZ workshops that were burnt down, Vasiliy Likhachev said that this was not just Tatarstan's problem but Russia's and the entire CIS's as well.

Filatov Cited on 'Special Position'

LD2506170193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1651 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Head of the Russian President's Staff Sergey Filatov said he had not yet received an official statement from the Tatar president on the recall of the republic's delegation from the Constitutional Convention.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS, Filatov noted that he did not see any grounds for concern over the so-called "Tatarstan's special position" in the constitutional process. In his opinion, treaty principles of relations between Russia and Tatarstan are laid down in the draft constitution, therefore, "explanatory work is to be conducted with the republic's delegation with a view to reach an agreement".

Premier Supports Statement

PM2506173893 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 3

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Morozov under the general heading "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back": "Meanwhile..."]

[Text] Kazan—The local press yesterday published a statement by President Mintimer Shaymiyev and Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Chairman Farid Mukhametshin concerning the work of the Constitutional Conference and its organs. The republic's leaders note that the draft Fundamental Law of the Russian Federation drawn up at the first stage of the conference shows the desire to belittle and discredit the very idea of the establishment of a fundamentally new type of federal relations. It ignores the legislative initiative of the Republic of Tatarstan on the new vision of federalism in Russia and on incorporating in its Fundamental Law provisions relating to treaty-based constitutional relations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation.

"You cannot create a new Russian Federation Constitution, determining the fate of its multinational peoples, to suit the ambitions of certain political circles; the republics' interests must be taken into account," the statement stresses.

In this connection the authors of this political document deem it impossible to participate further in the work of the Constitutional Conference and its organs, and confirm their commitment to the desire to build relations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation on the basis of the treaty on reciprocal delegation of powers.

Tatarstan, Prime Minister Mukhammat Sabirov also expressed his support for the statement by the president and the head of parliament. He said that if there is no response to Tartarstan's proposals, the prime minister will also terminate his participation in the Constitutional Conference. "But I still intend to work on the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission," he told journalists.

Tatar Opposition Criticizes Pullout

LD2706092493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0657 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 27 Jun—A statement condemning the Tatarstan delegation's departure from the Constitutional Conference in Moscow has been adopted by delegates at the founding conference of 'Equal Rights and Legality' [Ravnopraviye i Zakonnost], a bloc of all Tatarstan's nationalist forces, which has been held here. Taking part in it were representatives of 15 parties and movements from Kazan and other towns in the republic.

The bloc declared itself "a constructive opposition" to the leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Political Issues

Council of Ministers Statement on Corruption Allegations

LD2506181293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a statement by the Presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, in connection with the Supreme Soviet's adoption of the 24 June resolution on the report by the head of the

Genrela Procuracy special commission, Nikolay Makarov, on incidences of corruption by top officials of the Russian Federation.

The statement says that the resolution is another political action aimed at discrediting the activities of the Russian Government. The information reported at the session requires careful and impartial verification, that should be carried out in strict accordance with the law. Adopting any decision before such verification is completed and making accusations of corruption violate the principle of the assumption of innocence. Such actions on the part of the Supreme Soviet will in no way influence the stability of the government's work and the policy of economic reforms it is implementing.

Poltoranin Interviewed on Charges

LD2606220293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1221 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Interview with Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center, by commentator Yevgeniy Fateyev; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Fateyev] Mikhail Nikiforovich, on 24 June, as we know, at a meeting of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, fairly serious corruption charges were made against many public servants and members of the Cabinet. You, personally, and First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko were, as we say, attacked right, left, and center. This is a new experience for Vladimir Filippovich, and he is even going to take his offenders to court. You, however, are an old hand at this. God knows how many times the Supreme Soviet has sacked you or sent your political career to the cleaners.

[Poltoranin] The Supreme Soviet as well as the Congress of People's Deputies have indeed buried me a few times, or at least attempted to bury me politically. These things are hard to get used to, but I have. In this situation, however, and in this story, there are, I believe, such deep-hidden reasons. When, let us say, a child becomes suddenly very quiet next door, you wait to hear a jam jar fall down and break. Same here—the Supreme Soviet had become very quiet, and we knew that something was cooking there because the referendum has considerably weakened the positions of Khasbulatov's extremists, and it came as a shock to many deputies. Deputies started drifting towards common sense, and thus the Constitutional Conference materialized.

People who have rallied around the Constitutional Conference are of different creeds; in a word—accord—which is so badly needed, is now shaping up. Fear of this accord and attempts to raise a new wave of confrontation are, I believe, underlying reasons for this hearing and for involving employees of the procurator's office, including Makarov. This is designed to deal a blow to members of the president's team, to those who work and who try to do something. This is a smear campaign not only against these people but against all the work that is being carried out for the benefit of Russia, as it were.

[Fateyev] Mikhail Nikiforovich, you seem to be fairly confident that this action was planned beforehand.

[Poltoranin] I have no doubts at all about it. Now may I turn to what was mentioned at the session. It was said in the press that Poltoranin's and Shumeyko's names were the ones mentioned the most often.

[Fateyev] You were mentioned primarily in the context of ...

[Poltoranin] ... the Berlin House case.

[Fateyev] Yes, the former House of Soviet Science and Culture in Berlin.

[Poltoranin] Yes, my name was mentioned only in one situation, the one connected with the Berlin House. During their discussion deputies gnawed at my name as a juicy bone because every speaker believed that he must also have his say.

Now, back to the story itself. It is said here that Poltoranin has exceeded his powers, or more simply, it has been alleged that I meddled into other people's business, and that, not knowing German laws, I signed papers on change of ownership—with the help of German partners—of the Berlin Science and Culture House—from the property of the USSR to the property of the Russian Federation. It has also been alleged that the Berlin Court can come back to this case any time, annul all these acts, and dispose of this house as it intends because these papers have no legal value. This is the main, or rather the only allegation that was voiced at the Supreme Soviet session. The gist of their accusations is that this property may be lost to Germany, because the documents were not in order.

I want to read you now a small document, a certificate by a German lawyer which is in German with a Russian translation. It says that in accordance with the presented and certified copy of an entry in the laender book of the Berlin Court, sheet of the laender Book No. 872-N, on the ownership of the building, the Russian Federation is and will be the owner. So, we did manage to re- register the property from the USSR ownership to Russia, and it is Russia's property now. So, thank God for that, and I think we should be given awards for such things.

[Fateyev] Mikhail Nikiforovich, is it actually a big house? How much does it cost? Why is there so much noise about it? There must be a lot of money tied in this house.

[Poltoranin] I was in this house a while ago, on a Journalist Guild tour when I was not even a Soviet parliament member yet some time back in 1988, I believe. I went with a Journalists Guild group to Berlin, which was still the German Democratic Republic then. I spoke to journalists in that house. It is a huge building, 29,000 square meters. Here is a photo. This is one of our 43 properties abroad, which have had no owner since the USSR disintegrated. Some of them have already changed hands, and some are being used by some wheelers-dealers, as it were, or, like the Berlin House—by former Communist Party Central Committee staff and top party brass. When the presidential decree was issued on transferring this house to the Federal Information Center, we were not going to go there, by law it is the Commission of the State Committee for the Management of State Property that should go there to accept the house, and check the inventory, update the paperwork, and then transfer the house to our books. The commission, however, was not allowed to enter this house. Moreover, as soon as we started the transfer of this house to the ownership of the Russian Federation everything began to stir—both in Russia and in Germany, and even in Israel.

Five Israeli citizens flew hastily straight from Israel and filed their claims to the land plot where the house is located. They claim that before the war the plot belonged to their parents, to their families. So here we have a very long chain which one would expect our beloved Procuracy to tackle. Unfortunately it has not done that. So I reject any accusations in this respect, and moreover I am very sad that for over six months we have not been able to use the house for mass media purposes.

The Supreme Soviet is now once again discussing the ways of bringing radio and television under their exclusive supervision. Goodness gracious, how can one speak of any kind of supervision today? I realize that they want and demand that journalists love them, but you cannot force someone to love you. What supervision can there be when everything is crumbling down? Today I received a cable saying that from 0323 hours Moscow time on 25 June the broadcasting of the state television and radio companies' radio programs to eastern Siberia and the Far East will be discontinued. This telegram comes from the Main Center of the Radio and Television Broadcasting Network Administration Control.

[Fateyev] So this applies to Mayak and everything else, doesn't it? Everything broadcast from Moscow?

[Poltoranin] It does. Also, regional television companies have to stop operations. Here we have other telegrams. The money is just not there. All the hardware is just falling apart, becoming obsolete for want of hard currency. Soon there will be nothing to work on at all, and hence nothing to supervise.

The idea behind this house project was that as part of the joint operation, our partner was to invest 30 million German marks and the house was supposed to make a profit which was later to be used for improving the equipment, to some degree at least. We were actually hoping to obtain a few more properties in order to improve the assets of mass media. The house was to accommodate 10 bureaus of independent mass media, as well as 10 apartments for correspondents—from independent, rather than state mass media. In addition, all the equipment in the bureaus would have access to REUTER and to other world television companies. I am so sad this has not worked out, but there you are.

So I can reiterate that the master plan was to deal a blow to the president's team, and to pick specific people. I know why they want it. It is not accidental that they have targeted me and some other people for a long time. I am also sad—and I would like to warn the Procuracy of this—that today the leadership of the Russian Federation Procuracy resembles a wet rag in the hands of Khasbulatov's team. The Supreme Soviet is brandishing this rag and trying to hit at the reputation of its political opponents.

Eventually, of course, Makarov and co. will become scapegoats, because they are being used today with purely mercenary political aims—and everything will be back to square one.

When Rutskoy stated this, for example, and when we went on to prepare a lawsuit against him, I said at the time that I was suing Rutskoy for 10 million rubles and that I was sure of victory ....

[Fateyev] Yes, let us recall that it was Vice President Rutskoy who first made these accusations, fetched out of one of his 11 suitcases, and the commission followed this up with its inquiry.

[Poltoranin] I was sure that I would win the case, but as soon as I stated that we had prepared the lawsuit, the Procuracy instantly started this investigation, and while it is under way, according to our laws the court cannot consider, or accept for consideration, any civil cases. Therefore we are being stopped in our tracks. But I am sure that in due course there will be a lawsuit against Rutskoy, Makarov, and those deputies who, not bothering to read the documents and without any background knowledge, also took part in the discussion and abused honor and dignity—and also in public because the whole thing was broadcast.

Actually, when the session expresses no confidence in the chairman of the Federal Information Center [FIC], I could not agree more. And, I would like to support them because there is no such office as chairman of the FIC, and I wish the Procuracy took the trouble to get the name right at least, but it did not bother to make an effort even here. There is the office of head of the FIC, and there is the FIC, in spite of the congress decision.

[Fateyev] There was not one, but two resolutions on abolishing the FIC.

[Poltoranin] Yes, and there was a ruling from the Constitutional Court. But the Constitutional Court makes legal rulings, whereas actual decisions are taken by the president. Well, the president will certainly comply with the Constitutional Court ruling and abolish the FIC. But he will do so when this becomes necessary, after preparing and setting up a new structure. So everything is proceeding normally here.

[Fateyev] Right. Now I would like to ask you this: Who do our people's deputies and the Supreme Soviet dislike more—yourself or the center of which you are the current head?

[Poltoranin] I suppose it is me because when I had meetings with representatives of all factions in the White House to tell them about the functions of the FIC, the communists said that the Center was a good thing, a good structure, but there should be another man at the top, someone approved by the Supreme Soviet.

[Fateyev] At the most recent Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, when it failed to impeach the president, all deputies instantly got down to passing a resolution on freedom of speech in broadcasting. That is, these are all links of one chain, the struggle against the president and against the press. Is this right?

[Poltoranin] Very true indeed because the president personifies, in fact, a course for reform in Russia, for political and economic reform, that is the course that is bound to break up the old socio-political formation and create a new one, a post-perestroyka formation, completely free from post-Bolshevism. This draft constitution which is now discussed at the Constitutional Conference is the very watershed, the very threshold beyond which new society begins.

The president in fact is the personification of this path, this course, while mass media are supporting him, naturally. It is as natural that the Supreme Soviet and its leaders, who take strong exception to this course, are waging war against both the president and the media, which is a pillar supporting the burgeoning democracy.

Shumeyko Remains 'Confident'

LD2706194993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko by correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev; from the "Itogi" news program—live]

[Text] [Kiselev] Today Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, is in the Itogi program studio. Vladimir Filippovich, tell me please, after everything that was addressed to you in parliament this week do you feel confident of your political future?

[Shumeyko] Yes, I feel confident.

[Kiselev] The parliament called on the president to release you from the post you occupy. Did you have any conversation with Boris Nikolayevich on this subject?

[Shumeyko] Yes I did have a conversation with Boris Nikolayevich on this subject. The fact is, the president—I have already spoken about this—has at his disposal sufficient organizations if you like, to find out, and the initiative belongs to the president in checking the facts set out by Rutskoy two months ago in his speech at the Supreme Soviet.

When Deputy Procurator General Makarov came to me, I gave him all kinds of assistance and help in making available all the documents, copies of documents, I explained to him about each instance that he asked about and I answered all questions. Because that is what I wanted and I know the president had ordered the matter to be clarified and help to be given in clearing up the whole picture.

Why did I say that I was confident of my future? I know myself absolutely. My conscience is absolutely clear. I know, firstly, that I have not let the president down in any way and for my part the feeling is reciprocated.

I am capable of taking responsibility, I assume that responsibility and never avoid doing so. I tackle a great many things, and it may well be that there are some mistakes among all that. But these mistakes are not sufficient as to merit being proclaimed guilty of corruption by the Supreme Soviet tribune, before the whole world, and being called upon to hand in my immediate resignation. They simply cannot merit that.

[Kiselev] What do you think is the reason for this attack on you, and also on other officials—and not only government officials but also Supreme Soviet officials, too—that took place this week?

[Shumeyko] I am perfectly well aware that this was very well prepared long ago, excellently orchestrated and carefully timed. The Constitutional Conference took place today, and the parties in question most likely did not want it to take place. It is politics that is indeed in the forefront here, and such dirty politics, at that. But I am not afraid to say that in my view, there is clearly something else here: The parties in question want to be the first to shout: Stop, thief!

[Kiselev] Nevertheless, the public attacks that have been made upon you have inflicted a certain moral damage upon you, it would seem to me. Do you intend to take any action?

[Shumeyko] I have no time for personal distractions today: My work today is first and foremost the drawing up and adoption of the constitution. Without the constitution, there can be no talk of the government working normally. When political opponents today levy accusations that instead of tackling the national economy and this that and the other, the first deputy prime minister of the government has gone off into petty politicking, and is working on the Constitution and so on, when they say: Leave off all the politics and start tackling the economy. How can one tackle the economy in the sort of situation we have today? Tackling the economy with two powers is just inconceivable! The number one task today is to get the Constitution adopted. After that one can see to one's own affairs. As for the more serious aspects relating to accusations of criminal activities and so on—we shall most definitely, I promise you and all who are listening to us, thoroughly study all the facts, and I shall most certainly report everything to the president's commission on corruption. We must now sort everything out fully and report on everything. We must prove and defend the honor of the government.

I may add that these personal insults will remain and will not pass unnoticed. They will never disappear; they will remain, naturally, and I hope that we shall sort them out at a personal level.

[Kiselev] Vladimir Filippovich, thank you for taking part in our program.

[Shumeyko] Thank you.

Kunadze, Churkin Not To Become Ambassadors

LD2506153393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1512 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy described as "fantasies, forecasts and suppositions" recent mass media claims on nomination of deputies Russian Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze and Vitaliy Churkin Russian ambassadors.

This information "will rest on conscience of the newspapers," he told a briefing here today.

Rutskoy Scores Yeltsin, Cites Broken Pledges

PM2506150193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Aleksandr Rutskoy: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: What the President Promised Has Been Carried Out. In Precisely the Opposite Way"]

[Text] What prompted me to write this article was the thoughts of political scientist A. Kiva ("Gorbachev and the 'Gorbachevites' at a Turning Point in Russian History," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, 11 June) and, anyway, I believe the time has come in our history when society needs a serious discussion of the political climate in the country and of the influence of the top state leaders on it. The country has certainly changed and people are entitled to call to public account those rulers who have managed in such a short period to cause the country losses that are incomparably greater even than those caused by war. The reckless, adventurist destruction of the country and its history, culture, and moral foundations is taking place in many spheres.

Was There A Possible Alternative?

Kiva claims that the "wisdom of the decisions of the three leaders who met near Minsk in December 1991 consisted in the fact that they averted a terrible threat that was advancing upon us—a large-scale war of peoples and entire republics against the 'odious center'." Is this claim true?

For the information of Kiva and the rest I will say that a detailed plan for the elimination of the "center," headed by Gorbachev, landed on Yeltsin's desk for the first time in early 1991. The key element in it was the conclusion of the "treaty of the four" (Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan), which would effectively present the USSR president and the union parliament with an ultimatum. The text of the treaty was finalized in Moscow, in the "White House," in February-March 1991, and representatives of the aforementioned republics (Russia was represented by Burbulis) were repeatedly received by Yeltsin so that they could inform him of the progress of the talks.

It all went well at first. Although Kazakhstan's representatives were cautious. Then the Ukrainian and Belarusian representatives backpedaled—and it all seemed to die down.

One of the last versions of the text of the treaty, which I ended up with after the Belovezhskaya deal (I did not know a quiet revolution was in the offing, because it was all done in secret) is in my archives. So all the assurances by the participants in the Belovezhskaya deal that it took them one night to write the agreement on the CIS are a downright lie.

In my view, the idea of a "war brewing" between the republics and the center sits very uncomfortably with the results of the 17 March 1991 referendum, when three-fourths (76 percent of those entitled to vote) of the country's population favored preserving the Soviet Union, with a view to conducting within it the necessary political and economic transformations corresponding to the principles of federalism and real democracy.

One is reminded of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's words that "regardless of the outcome of the referendum, the Union will not collapse. Don't try to frighten people! Don't try to create panic in this area!" (15 March 1991), and also his statement that "Russia will never initiate the collapse of the Union" (18 October 1991). These words were uttered when the plot was already brewing. An example of political cynicism, wouldn't you say?

Despite the fact that there were seats of tension in the country (Karabakh, Dniester region), in terms of their size they were not a direct threat to the security of the USSR as a whole, let alone the world community. Although they occasionally made strong statements, the new nationalist elites, hungry for power in certain republics, would not in fact have considered any serious destructive action that might cause the situation to explode and provoke bloodshed on a national scale if they had sensed a reasonable approach on the part of the Russian Government.

As is known, none of the declarations of state independence adopted by republics in 1990-1991 incorporated the principle of abandoning the union state, while the various bilateral treaties concluded between them in the first half of 1991 invariably included references to the USSR and to legislation operating within it.

So there was no hint of a "war against the odious center" then.

And it is utterly naive to speak of the danger of an "economic war" in conditions of the highest level of national economic integration. It began immediately after December 1991 with economic ruin, and this is confirmed by the indicator that the rupture of economic links between the former republics of the union accounted for at least 60 percent of the overall decline in production in Russia in 1992. I must mention, for example, the fact that while it kept 90 percent of the former union's oil extraction for itself, Russia lost 60 percent of the capacities for the production of petroleum equipment, 35-40 percent of the oil-refining capacities, and 60 percent of seaports' oil handling capacity.

There were rivers of blood immediately after the "Belovezhskaya foresters'" meeting. Civil war was now a reality on the territory of what was now the former Soviet Union. A further deterioration of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, where a full-scale war had begun; tens of thousands of people killed or wounded in Tajikistan; war in the Dniester region; Georgia's war first against South Ossetia and then against Abkhazia; bloodshed in Russia itself, that is, in North Ossetia and Ingushetia; armed confrontation in Azerbaijan. Those who allegedly "saved the USSR peoples from internal war" can enter all this in their service record.

They had planted a time bomb by allowing the state and the Army to be plundered and by giving out weapons right, left, and center, even to those who were prepared to use these weapons against their own people.

One might add to that the present top politicians' total disregard for the fate of the millions of people who became "second-class" citizens overnight and are still bereft of basic political and civil rights—in Estonia, for example. Many Russians have experienced the refugee ordeal in full.

The real reason for the deal is—it has to be said—that none of the three was capable of beating Gorbachev in the intellectual stakes and becoming the acknowledged political leader of a great state. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that, on direct instructions from Yeltsin, the first and last USSR president was hurriedly shunted out of the Kremlin and Burbulis was immediately installed in his office.

I am deeply convinced that even in December 1991 the possibility of a judicious transformation of the Soviet Union into a new type of state had not been entirely exhausted.

That is why I am very interested in all the integration steps the CIS countries' parliaments and individual politicians are currently taking.

At the moment the media are busy plugging the idea that we have achieved great successes in the past two years under the wise leadership of Boris Nikolayevich personally and of his power base—"Democratic Russia." "By hook or by crook," as Kiva says. The "successes" are certainly impressive. The decline in industrial production is 32 percent and in agriculture it is 36 percent; the proportion of energy sources in exports has risen to 66 percent, while the total volume has nearly halved; there are more than twice as many deaths as births; nearly 80 percent of the population has slipped below the poverty line.

You cannot put all this down to the cost of the transitional period. These data clearly demonstrate a trend toward the economic and genetic degeneration of a country that only recently was called a superpower. Again I want to remind Russians of the words of Boris Nikolayevich: "Proposals that envisage an increase in prices and transition to the market at the people's expense are an antipopular policy. Russian must not accept it" (25 May 1990).

Many would have us believe that Yeltsin has always been cautious and restrained and tried to avoid "strong-arm" methods of solving political problems and to prevent bloodshed. But the examples of South Ossetia, the Dniester region, and Chechnya, and the clash between Ingushetia and North Ossetia, show that the months and months of fruitless actions have not only not halted the conflicts and the deaths but have multiplied the number of victims month by month.

At times when he needed to display resolve the president would step back into the shadows, maybe even doing so deliberately. I will give you two examples. The first concerns the situation that arose in the North Caucasus. I am referring to the Chechen events, the price of which was the blood of hundreds and the suffering of thousands of people; and the conflict between Ingushetia and North Ossetia, the aftermath of which has not been erased to this day.

As a member of the Security Council, I can definitely say that Moscow, including the president, knew that conflicts were brewing there. If the first was not enough (Chechnya, September 1991), there followed a second—between Ingushetia and North Ossetia. Telegrams from the Internal Affairs Ministry and Security Ministry and memorandums from experts showed that there might be bloodshed any day. Specific dates were known even. But no one took any preventive measures, including the president, who had been informed of all this. The question occurs to me: Maybe someone at the highest level in Moscow actually wanted the situation to explode and utilize this fact for his own ends—in particular, to distract Russians' attention from another spiral in the economic crisis?

And what about the recent tragic events in Moscow on 1 May 1993? For the first time in decades there was bloodshed in the capital as a result of political confrontation. Can anyone doubt that the president had advance information of the actions Moscow City Hall was planning? Someone compared the May events to the events in Los Angeles. But it is striking to compare the actions of the two presidents: One of them dropped everything and personally flew to the scene and took control of the situation; the other made some unintelligible comments two days later, and not actually at the scene, but in some truck gardens outside Moscow, during another demonstration of his "closensss to the people." Indeed, the report by the government commission set up by the president under Russian Government Chairman Chernomyrdin's chairmanship has been kept under wraps, just as in the old days.

One immediately thinks of Yeltsin's admission at the 11 November 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum, which many will remember: "As a communist I lost my political leadership image."

Is history repeating itself, and has he now lost his democratic image?

The Court Makes the King

To call Yeltsin's entourage a "court" is wrong, in my view, because it is not so much "making the king" as discrediting him, secretly (although openly of late) hoping to get rid of him as soon as possible and take over power. Not so long ago, asked why Yeltsin sometimes makes undesirable pronouncements, Shakhray, his very close colleague and one of the authors of the "presidential" draft of the new Constitution, was pretty blunt: "Basically it is down to a lack of political awareness." Can he occupy the dignified position of "king" when some obviously corrupt and venal people are acting in his name and using his signature? Including people in his native Sverdlovsk Oblast, whence in 1992 alone raw material, including strategic raw material, worth more than $1 billion was exported with Burbulis's help? Naturally, neither the Russian nor the local treasury benefited as a result, whereas the foreign bank accounts of many state officials swelled appreciably. In what other country, apart from today's Russia, would the vice premier, caught committing an "everyday misdemeanor" during a trip abroad, still be in a job, bleating about the advantages of the market economy? Another figure involved in an affair that is currently being investigated by the general prosecutor's office is expecting another cushy government post. The president himself is openly assisting commercial structures and signing edicts and directives on preferential export conditions, including exports of strategic materials, and on the immediate allocation of buildings and premises for them, and he is blocking the investigation of instances of corruption by his own Control Administration.

Clearly, a state mafia machine has taken shape in the country and it is capable of taking charge not only of part of the leadership of the law-enforcement bodies but also of officials in the executive bodies.

Russian policy is becoming less and less moral. The main reason for this is that, in order to justify their self-seeking aims, the members of the top levels of the country's executive authority, including the president himself, are increasingly resorting to blatant lies. Suffice it to recall the promises handed out before the referendum, Shumeyko's regular statements that "prices will stabilize in the months to come and will even start to fall."

And what about the president's 12 June 1993 statement that "this year will be a year of economic and financial stabilization"? Of course, this can certainly be achieved by dealing yet another blow to science and education, to the social sphere, to the country's industrial and agricultural complex. It would be interesting to know what statistics this optimism is based on. In fact, the Russian people have heard similar statements many times before, in 1990, 1991, 1992, and at the beginning of 1993.

All the election promises made by Yeltsin in 1989 and 1991 are now completely forgotten. So I will take the liberty of reminding the reader of some of them, to indicate the discrepancy between word and deed.

From the election program of RSFSR candidate people's deputy B.N. Yeltsin:

—a clear-cut program must be devised to bring about economic recovery in two-three years' time and wipe out our country's foreign and domestic debt;

—the greatest priority must be given to a strong social policy, with concern for human beings its main aim;

—in view of the unwarranted stratification of society on the basis of material prosperity, it is necessary to step up the fight for social and moral justice and give priority to the interests of the neediest strata of the population;

—following the election of the new body of people's deputies, the supreme legislative body must be turned into a real platform for the expression of the people's will, and all state and political organizations and leaders of all ranks must be made accountable to it;

—every effort must be made to combat the growth of the bureaucratic elite stratum, which includes members of corrupt circles.

From the election program of RSFSR presidential candidate B.N. Yeltsin:

—there must be strict state control of the process of transition to the market, in order to prevent the concentration of material and financial resources in the hands of small mafia groups, so that economic freedom does not become the right of the strong to ignore the law;

—all citizens must be provided with property through the stage-by-stage privatization of the bulk of the state enterprises and housing, and maximum attention must be paid to the interests of all strata of the population;

—the state will guarantee a living standard no lower than the subsistence minimum, particularly during the period of transition to the market, for strata without social protection;

—conditions are to be created to improve the birth rate and ensure the priority development of children's medicine;

—a greater proportion of Russia's defense expenditure must be made available for social purposes;

—the minimum wage, pensions, and grants must be 50 percent higher than the average union level; all categories of working people are to have longer leave and the working week is to be cut by one hour.

I would also remind you that when he spoke in Voronezh 1 June 1991 Boris Nikolayevich said: "If Russia acquires real sovereignty and the republic anticrisis program comes into effect we will start to make the ascent as early as next year."

I think any Russian would benefit from a careful study of these lines, abounding in assurances and promises of a better life for the purpose of getting elected, and compare the promises with reality.

It would be useful to analyze what society has in fact got. And when the propresidential press, creative intelligentsia elite, and television drum up support for another political campaign (the presidential Constitution at the present stage) and call for a program for the restructuring of the economy (we have already experienced a program for deepening economic reform, a program of anticrisis measures), look once again at these election programs and consider well those that lie in store for us in the future.

Now for the threat of revanchism, which both Yeltsin and the author of the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA article are brandishing in our and our Western partners' faces. If you follow their argument, you have to mark down as "national-fascists" at least 30 million citizens who opposed the president and his policy in the recent referendum. In a sense, you might add to them the 40 million citizens who did not vote because they had lost faith. That makes 70 million people in all. But why does no one bother to try to explain the reasons for the growth of the ranks of those who are labeled "red-browns"?

In my view, the main reason is that the economic and social position of the bulk of the people—which they have been unable to fool, despite all the efforts of the propresidential media—has deteriorated sharply in the past 18 months.

There is no going back to the old totalitarian system. The country has made its choice. But neither will we blindly follow the policy of the foreign "advisers" and the pseudodemocrats at home, and no more will the peoples of Russia stand openmouthed while the very foundations of their history and morality and the diversity of their life and culture are destroyed.

Gorbachev—who, according to Kiva, "clearly did not appreciate the scale and danger of the actual phenomenon: the fusion of nationalism and socialism"—was right, in my view. Because many actions by the country's current leadership and its policy of economic and social genocide in relation to its own people are much more of a black-brown hue, albeit disguised by loud statements about the "successes of the policy of reforms."

So it is the president's court that is primarily interested in whipping up hysteria over the "threat of revanchism." This campaign enables it to distract public opinion from its own illegal actions, from the corruption and the downright betrayal of national interests.

Is There A Center?

Kiva rightly says that the political situation today "comes down to the age-old Russian choice: either Yeltsin and the democrats, or the 'red-browns'." But he bashfully steers away from the truth, which is that this "alternative" was created quite deliberately and backed up with a massive propaganda offensive in the media. And it appeared at the very time when it was obvious that the "sprint toward capitalism" had failed, when the Russian president's promises of an "improvement in the situation and stabilization of the economy within a few months" were falling one after another by the wayside.

So what you have behind the confrontation is, on the one hand, a desire to reduce all the complex social processes taking place in the country to a primitive scheme, and, on the other hand, to attempt by means of this scheme to persuade people that there are no forces adopting a stance of centrism, statehood, and a socially orientated economy.

One must be thoroughly objective. Kiva is not the only one passionately persuading Russians that there is no such thing as centrism, that "Civic Union" is breaking up, that it is a myth. It is a political imperative. The purpose is the same as usual—to get people to make a choice"—either one or the other. Because the "center" is the chief threat to "Democratic Russia's" bankrupt policy, particularly on the threshold of the new parliamentary and, maybe, presidential elections upcoming not later than next spring, I believe. It is no accident that a new party is being set up under the provisional name "25 April Russian Union," headed by leader of the "Strategy" foundation (set up not without the president's assistance) Burbulis. Once again they are trying to organize a race, this time a parliamentary election race, in order to deprive the population of the chance of a real choice.

Of course, various processes are taking place among the centrists, and, of course, the center is currently going through a period of major reconstruction and elaboration of a new strategy and tactics. It is bound to happen that way, since a political force that ignores changes in the mood of society is doomed to defeat.

Certainly, both "Civic Union" and the "center" are now much changed. Ultimately for the better, I think. I will try to explain my view.

First, it is finally clear that the centrist forces can no longer continue the porridge-like state wherein they lack a sufficiently clear-cut and, most important, effective infrastructure, both at the central level and in the members of the Federation, and, if you like, nationally. The referendum graphically demonstrated that the only way to counter the campaign the radical-democrats are waging to dupe the entire population is to adopt an active stance and have a means of exerting influence.

Second, the centrists have finally realized that the tactics of "corridor diplomacy" which the "Civic Union" leadership, including me, has often been guilty of, particularly during the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, have not worked. It is clear that one has to have one's own clear-cut platform which can obtain Russians' support, and operate not in the spirit of "compromise at any price," but with due principle and consistency.

Third, by the beginning of this summer, particularly after it became clear that the population had again been duped by a clutch of promises issued before the referendum with no intention of their being implemented, the spectrum of social forces that had finally recognized the pernicious nature of the radical strategy and of the tactics of those championing it and their inability to get the country out of the crisis they themselves had plunged it into had begun to widen.

The objective conditions had taken shape for the start of the formation of a coalition of civic forces, which was reflected in the agreement that has now been signed by nearly 40 parties and public and political movements.

So the political center now comes across as a qualitatively new formation capable of vigorous and fruitful action not only and, maybe, not so much on podiums in the capital but on a truly national scale.

Could Russian Federation President Yeltsin move toward the center? I doubt it, although I have tried repeatedly to help Boris Nikolayevich to do that. Particularly as many of his recent political actions and statements graphically confirm that he is actually drifting in the direction of unlawful radicalism, of seeking not so much a strong regime as a regime of personal authority. I recall his words again: "We could again become prisoners, without actually noticing it, of a new authoritarian regime, a new dictatorship" if the head of state is granted extremely wide powers (31 May 1989)....

More About Pavlik Morozov

In his article Kiva tried to categorize me and those who share my view of the need to take up a civic stance in the present situation as "Pavlik Morozovs" [reference to P.T. Morozov, born 1918, celebrated member of the Pioneer youth organization who perished at the hands of the kulaks during the struggle for the collectivization of Soviet agriculture]. An interesting idea, of course, but, alas, not a new one. You only have to leaf through the journal OGONEK for 1987-1989 and study the articles on similar topics....

The author forgets one thing: the right of every person, including the vice president—who was nationally elected, as it happens, along with the president—to his own viewpoint, particularly as I was never a member of Yeltsin's "family." I swore allegiance not to a specific politician but to the people and the law, the Constitution. So I do not accept the proposition formulated by Mussolini: "A politician who has the confidence of the people can act above the law." Having sworn the military oath of loyalty to the homeland at the age of 19, I have never broken it and I have always honorably performed my military and civic duty.

I believe that people who can look their leaders straight in the eye and tell the latter about their mistakes and that they have not kept their word deserve much more respect than those who change their beliefs several times a day.

Incidentally, when the Interregional Deputies' Group in the USSR Supreme Soviet was discussing possible contenders for the post of Russian president at the end of 1990, some session participants actually said that "Yeltsin is necessary and convenient, but insignificant."

Try as some might to escape responsibility, history and the people will call them to account.

...I remember Abraham Lincoln's well-known maxim: "You may fool some of the people all the time, you may fool all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all the time."

Supreme Soviet

Proceedings From 24 Jun Session Reported

LD2406224993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1930 GMT on 24 June broadcasts a 24-minute recorded program on today's Supreme Soviet session on corruption.

At 1933 GMT the program shows Khasbulatov giving the floor to Makarov, but Deputy Koltunov asks for the session to be relayed live on the Program One and on radio. This is approved.

Makarov is shown speaking, saying that several of Rutskoy's charges have been confirmed. He gives details.

The commentator says seventeen deputies spoke in the debate; a resolution was passed, and a report on this will be shown on Channel One.

At 1937 GMT, Deputy Mityukov is shown saying the legislative committee has repeatedly declared its adherence to reform. He lists its objectives. It has paid special attention to issues of constitutional legislation. He gives examples of its work. The committee has been responsible for measures that have strengthened the independence of the judiciary and raised the status of the judges.

At 1942 GMT, a deputy asks Mityukov whether it is true that he was offered the post of deputy head of the president's administration, "together with Krasavchenko," and whether political bias does not interfere with his practical work. Mityukov replies that a deputy should not "make use of gossip, rumors, and other methods".

At 1943 GMT, Khasbulatov gives the floor to a deputy and asks Golushko to prepare to speak. The deputy pays tribute to the legislation committee, on which he has served. He praises Mityukov.

At 1945 GMT, Sevastyanov complains that many laws that the legislation committee was to have prepared have sunk without a trace. He accuses it of "boycotting" constitutional legislation. The committee should be "reformed into two committees: one on constitutional legislation, and one on juridical and legal issues."

At 1948 another deputy says legislation committee has come in for more criticism than any other. It should be judged on merit, and not according to political prejudice. It should not be a scapegoat and there should be no political witchhunt. It is a useful professional body. The complaints against it are unfounded, he says.

Khasbulatov says a good constitution will eventually be passed, however long it takes. "Other matters were also discussed."

At 1954 GMT, the recorded program ends.

Shumeyko, Poltoranin Called To Resign

LD2406180693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Speech by Deputy Galushko, member of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Legality, at the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 24 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] Having listened to the report by our esteemed deputy procurator general [Makarov], the head of the social investigation team, one involuntarily asks oneself whether one can talk at all about maintaining legality in a state in which members, persons with top state powers in the running of the country, are engaged in what is quite simply criminal activity? [passage omitted]

First, I would like to ask the procurator general whether it is possible today to talk of bringing a criminal prosecution against former Prime Minister Silayev, bearing in mind that it is stated quite clearly in the report that unlawful actions were committed with his knowledge and through his connivance.

Second, can the issue be raised of holding an investigation into the activities of deputy head of government Shumeyko and the well-known official Poltoranin who have, at least allegedly, committed antistate actions, and if the answer is yes, and legislation permits such actions, then this should be done. But if we cannot do this, if the procuracy cannot do this because legislation does not permit it, then I think it is a matter of honor for our Supreme Soviet to support the procuracy's proposal that these officials be dismissed from the official posts they occupy. [passage omitted]

I would like this fact to be checked by the appropriate bodies because as we know, Marshal Shaposhnikov has just been appointed by the president to the post of secretary of the Security Council. [passage omitted]

Sorokin Addresses Session

LD2406175393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Address by Deputy Sorokin at the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 24 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed colleagues. The matter of the export of our metals and raw material products is directly connected with the activity of the administrative bodies and industrial and commercial enterprises in Sverdlovsk Oblast. In this connection I would like to recall the words of our vice president, in which he said: I accuse. Judging from the speech, he was accusing Mr. Burbulis of being involved in these matters. And Burbulis did say: I fear the time will come when Rutskoy will have to take responsibility in the most serious manner for this lightweight, unverified and legally dubious information which he has broadcast to the whole world in his speech. This means that instead of a fighter for the people we have a political adventurist speculating on a real problem. In my opinion the report of the special procurator cast light clearly on who our adventurists are, who is doing what.

I would like to say something else. Esteemed special procurator: I have documents which confirm the things said by the vice president. I have obtained something like 100 pages on Sverdlovsk Oblast. I can show you if you wish. I would also like to say this: When dealing with the issue of exporting various rare earth elements, including metals, abroad, this was dealt with in the government in the charge of Burbulis, and authorization was issued for 18 kinds of these products, that is, 18 metals. [passage omitted]

One last thing, comrades. I would like to show you a document which concerns the dispatch of gold abroad, 10,000 coins. I have it here. It is an order for the use of gold, signed by the first deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation. Esteemed comrade Gurevich, who here has the right to issue an order for the dispatch of gold abroad without controls? [indistinct response from the audience]

As you will. Who has the right to order the dispatch of precious metals abroad?

[Khasbulatov] Gennadiy Nikolayevich, finish now, please.

[Sorokin] No, I want to hear an answer from him, because we often hear from our democratically minded comrades—so- called—speeches in support of defending the interests of the state. I do not go one way or the other, but from the point of democracy—how does this look? I will, esteemed comrade special procurator, be passing this document to you. Thank you.

Yerin Calls For Resignations

LD2406172993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0959 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Speech by Russian Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin at the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 24 June—recorded]

[Text] Respected colleagues, respected representatives of mass media: We have witnessed the recent attacks on Vice President Rutskoy for the information he reported to the Supreme Soviet on the facts of corruption among top state officials.

Today the investigation group delivered a preliminary report to us and all these facts have been confirmed in the investigation materials of the investigation group.

I appeal to representatives of the mass media: How will you rehabilitate yourselves today, after those attacks on the vice president for his so-called allegedly populist measure on the facts cited. That is why, I believe, you will find the courage and provide clear-cut coverage of today's information. This is the first thing.

Second, I would like to draw your attention to the fact—I have already raised this issue twice at the Supreme Soviet—that when a budget was approved, including the revenue and expenditure sides for 1992, there were facts on diversions of funds by president's decrees in violation of the law on the budget of funds. There was an instruction by the Supreme Soviet to the commission headed by Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok; that is why we set up an additional commission to investigate where these funds went.

I raised this issue again at the hearing when the commission was delivering its report, but so far there has been silence. I would like to appeal, or I am appealing, to Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok to bring the matter to its logical conclusion and to provide these materials and help the investigation group with the facts regarding the diversion of these state funds. We hear today where they are being channelled to, illegally, in one case on Shumeyko's instruction, in another case on the president's instruction or decree. They are being channeled to various commercial structures abroad. This is the second thing.

Third, today I think that our position—the position of the Supreme Soviet and of all our Russian citizens, the citizens of the Russian Federation—is to create, at any cost, normal conditions to bring all these actions by our investigation group to their logical end. I mean that undoubtedly we should help to create normal conditions.

I appeal to those people, the state officials who have been mentioned today and earlier in the report. If you have a conscience, Comrades Shumeyko, Poltoranin and other named people, if you want to clear your conscience, resign immediately and immediately stop your activities! Let the investigation sort it out and defend yourselves in court in a civilized manner. Thank you.

Khasbulatov Address on Corruption

LD2406162193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1045 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Address by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to Supreme Soviet in Moscow, including comments from deputies—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Khasbulatov] First of all, let's be frank, these facts as set out by, not by the vice president—from what is considered and customarily known as subjective points of view on the independent prosecutor especially appointed by the Supreme Soviet.

If one is frank, even without being too strict, this is quite enough to immediately dismiss the federal government. That is absolutely correct. Do not go up to the microphone—I have not finished yet.

You know the practice in the rest of the world, you recall Willy Brandt, a great and true democrat, and his resignation. He was a great and still acclaimed leader of world Social Democrats. Why did he resign? Why are Japanese governments undermined? Why are U.S. governments and even presidents undermined? Corruption cases. The contra case: I want to remind my esteemed colleagues why the contra case, the Iran-contra case began. The president needed $30 million, which was not controlled by Congress. Just $30 million. In order to get it, he got involved in a complex adventure in order to get that $30 million without Congress's knowledge: arms sales, links with one state and another.

Why? Because unlike Pochinok's commission, every dollar is counted and controlled by Congress there.

It was the lack of control by the Supreme Soviet and all the committees, let's be frank, not just Pochinok's, which brought about the possibility for carrying out these operations as a whole. It was our lack of control. Instead of implementing their legislative control function our chairmen, including those of the committees and committees, engage in never-ending squabbles and fight and plot about who's a democrat and who's a partocrat. You will recall that that question never interested me at all. I always said: are you a professional? Are you prepared to work for the good of your homeland or not? That is where you should start from.

So we probably will not raise the issue of the government's resignation today. Although I repeat, the government should be dismissed. That is the interim account, report, or announcement by the special prosecutor. But during the summer holidays, we should definitely have another hearing. For this reason, this is a straight copy of the proposals the special prosecutor is talking about. I do not know, it is very mild.

There can only be one set of alternatives here: Either dismiss the entire government or agree with this second very insubstantial point.

The third thing I would ask is that you do not insist on the other useful things of which my colleague Rebrikov speaking. None of it relates specifically to the special prosecutor's report. For this reason, it can be protocolled and the deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet chambers and the relevant committees and commissions can take control of it and implement it.

For that reason, esteemed colleagues, I would now ask you to support this draft resolution as a whole.

By name? Then we must vote: Who is in favor of voting by name? I would ask everyone to support this draft resolution, if we want to really have a minimal conscience. All those in favor of voting by name please cast your votes. Please do not try to disgrace yourselves by defending something or some person. If only you know, and I am sure you know a whole lot, it is immoral to try to defend something or someone here. The vote is taking place.

Has it passed? I am putting the motion to a vote. Take a named vote now. Take a named vote. The named vote is now taking place.

Esteemed colleagues, I am asking you to be careful... [pause] Everyone must now vote, and everyone must support the draft resolution. The motion is passed. Is there a question?

Second microphone please.

[Deputy Gurevich] I am Deputy Gurevich. Deputy Sorokin has asked me a question here that I now must answer. The question concerned those who are now in charge of the gold reserve. Or was it about those who has the right to be in control of it? Well, I will remind you, esteemed people's deputies, that we are in the process of considering the law on precious metals. We have legal articles that say that for 70 years of the USSR's history and now Russia, it is the government who is generally empowered. However, there is no indication who specifically in the government is empowered. Usually there is a plan of supply signed by the prime minister or his deputies. That is the situation for today.

Therefore I would like to draw your attention to the fact that while there is no law there will be lawlessness. I spoke about this last time. We must adopt a law on precious metals as soon as possible.

[Khasbulatov] Pardon me. You are not quite right. Our Constitution says that this question is within the competence of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. It is not for consultation that we are here. For six months now, I have been trying to hammer out of the government, Pochinok, and others a decision to the effect that there should be control over currency. You are in fact one of the very people obstructing the introduction of such control.

[Gurevich] I? How?

[Khasbulatov] Because you are not working.

[Gurevich] But what we are talking about is not about control, but about who should be in charge of these questions.

[Khasbulatov] But I am telling you there is no control over currency. No control over currency. It is not the first time that I have raised this issue. There is no control over currency in the country.

The authorization of the use of gold must be carried out only with the consent and knowledge of parliament. That is how these things are done in all of the world's parliaments. After all, we do discuss rubles and how they should be spent. Is not foreign currency money too? What if we move to convertible currency tomorrow. What will happen then? Will that mean that there will be no accountability before parliament. Is the situation then such that we debate here meaningless rubles while currency is out of parliament's currency? Can't you see the whole absurdity of this situation. Let me now finish. Ispravnikov will have the floor and then we will announce a break.

[Vladimir Olegovich Ispravnikov] Esteemed colleagues, esteemed friends. I think that this information from the procurator, from the deputy procurator general, and the deputies has left a very grave imprint on all our hearts. But I would like to note one other aspect, esteemed colleagues.

Many of those who are listed in the report of the deputy procurator general and mentioned in the resolution that we voted for are taking part in the Constitutional Conference and even have leading posts in it. I think it is clear to everyone that a new constitution, the draft, must be drawn up with clean hands. I therefore think that we should prepare an appeal to those taking part in the Constitutional Conference. In my view—and this is my personal and private opinion—I think the official representative of the Supreme Soviet [Khasbulatov] cannot take part in the Constitutional Conference while people under investigation are actually taking part in it.

Another aspect: I think we should recommend that a similar decision be adopted by representatives of Soviets at all levels and our fellow people's deputies. I do not think they have the moral right to take part in the Constitutional Conference—with the exception, of course, of those who are connected with these matters. That is my proposal.

[Khasbulatov] So let us put this motion to a vote if there are no objections. Let appropriate drafts and documents be prepared for Vladimir Olegovich. I am putting the motion to a vote. [word indistinct] I am asking you to vote. The motion of the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ispravnikov has been passed. Motion passed. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker] I want to inform people's deputies that at 1245 there will be a radio relay of our proceedings. The radio could not pick them up from the beginning despite all efforts. As to a relay on Channel One, Bragin was unfortunately absent from his work station in the morning. Now things are being agreed with him. That is it.

[Khasbulatov] Esteemed colleagues, perhaps we will take a two-hour break until 1500, instead of a 30 minute break. Let us vote then. Be careful voting.

Control Over Expenditure Urged

LD2406121793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1200 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—The special commission of the Russian procurator-general's office set up by parliament late in April to check information on corruption supplied by Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy as well as other materials of law enforcement bodies, asked the Russian legislature on Thursday [24 June] to instruct the government to examine the state of control over the expenditure of raw materials and to determine the responsibility of all officials who abused their powers.

Special commission head Nikolay Makarov said that the commission "zeroed on and began to examine 55 cases demanding appraisal from the viewpoint of law".

The commission received over 20 materials from the vice-president and a special parliamentary commission to examine interpellations and statements by a group of legislators.

According to Makarov, the commission invited experts to check the legality of privatisation of some sea and air transport enterprises, quotas and licences on several foreign economic operations.

The reporter said that the examination involves the chief military procurator's office, procurators' offices in many Russian regions, appropriate departments of the interior and security ministries.

He also said that instructions were also given to supply adequate information to the foreign intelligence service and the Russian office of INTERPOL.

Stabilization Program Urged

LD2406204493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1717 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—A parliament session on Thursday [24 June] decided to request the Russian Government to set out a Russian economic stabilisation programme at the parliament session.

The issue was raised in view of the fact that it had been planned to convene a Congress of People's Deputies in July to consider an economic programme of the government. The members of parliament deemed it inopportune to convene a congress and voted for the convocation of an economic conference which would take up the elaboration of a programme to take the country out of the crisis.

During the discussion of the issue, it was suggested that the economic conference be prepared together with the government so that there would not be two parallel conferences.

Legislation Committee Reorganized

MK2506112093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 2

[Nika Stark report: "Supreme Soviet Disbands Its Third Committee Now"]

[Text] Parliament continues a drive to reorganize its subdivisions: Yesterday it was decided to reorganize the Supreme Soviet's legislation committee headed by Mikhail Mityukov. This is already the third committee subjected to transformation, following the committee on the mass media and the committee on economic reform and property, led respectively by well-known presidential supporters Vyacheslav Bragin and Sergey Krasavchenko. Since the professional qualifications of Mikhail Mityukov and members of his committee are beyond doubt, it is quite obvious that the main reason for the reorganization of the committee were the political views of its chairman, who has lately moved in opposition to the speaker.

Mikhail Mityukov, who replaced Sergey Shakhray in the post of legislation committee chairman, for a long time had a reputation as a centrist, yet drew criticism from the president's supporters for being too willing to carry out the speaker's assignments. Recently, however, the committee chairman's position has become openly opposed to the policy of Ruslan Khasbulatov and the majority of deputies. In particular Mikhail Mityukov has signed all three statements by some of the presidium members supporting the convocation of the constitutional conference while the speaker's actions were described as "discrediting the work of the Supreme Soviet." As is known, Ruslan Khasbulatov, referring to these members of the Presidium, charged that they "want to demolish the representative branch."

In this situation it is no surprise that following Mityukov's report it was decided—although after powerful pressure from the speaker—to reorganize the committee into two others: a committee on constitutional legislation and a committee on judicial reform and current legislation. As a result of the reorganization drive in parliament only two "strong" subdivisions have remained whose leaders are in serious opposition to Ruslan Khasbulatov. These are the committee on defense and security headed by Sergey Stepashin, and the commission on budget, plans, taxes, and prices headed by Aleksandr Pochinok. Significantly, Pochinok, who yesterday tried to stand by Mityukov, was warned by the speaker about an upcoming report by his commission.

Signs are that Mikhail Mityukov will not be out of a job for very long. To be sure, the former legislation committee chairman will be offered a post in the president's administration or the still vacant position of justice minister.

Makarov Holds News Conference on Corruption

LD2506163093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS— "The commission accuses none of specific corpus delicti, only illegal actions have been committed," head of the Russian procurator general's office special commission for investigation into corruption amongst officials and first deputy Russian procurator general Nikolay Makarov told a news conference at the Russian White House here today.

"I have called nobody a criminal or accused of corpus delicti. The investigation is working for the court, which is to pronounce a verdict. We cannot prejudge the issue," he said.

Asked why the commission hurried to make the report, Makarov explained his speech at Thursday's [24 June] parliament session with fulfillment of the Russian Supreme Soviet resolution, which instructed the commission to report in June the results of examination of materials on corruption.

He recalled the commission was formed for independent examination of information cited mainly by the report of the vice-president.

"There is no pressure on the commission on the part of the president, Boris Yeltsin has invited neither commission member for a conversation," said Makarov to refute recent rumors on an alleged conversation of the president and the investigators after the parliament session.

He said examination of accusations brought against the revival fund in the part of its use of money has begun. After the examination, a resolution will be adopted "regardless who and how is involved in this".

The commission chairman noted he will try to meet First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko today to offer him to pass over to the commission information on actions against the vice-premier, about which Shumeyko told tv on Thursday. He specified criminal proceedings have been instituted "on facts of abuse on the part of some officials, including Shumeyko, but not against Shumeyko".

He added the "corruption" notion exists only in a draft law. The notion is interpreted as "the use by an official of his office with selfish ends", still the current legislation lacks the word "corruption".

Pochinok Responds to Khasbulatov's Criticism

LD2706203993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Interview with Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Budget, Planning, Taxation, and Prices by correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev; from the "Itogi" news program—recorded]

[Text] [Kiselev] It looks as though the president's team has a firm hold on the political initiative. The irreconcilable opposition on the other hand is in confusion. It appears to have nothing or virtually nothing to counter the interim results of the Constitutional Conference. In this situation, tension is clearly being stirred up in the Supreme Soviet. The atmosphere is becoming increasingly heated and I spoke in detail about this to Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the parliament's Commission on Budget, Planning, Taxation, and Prices, who is, incidentally, a politician whom one can hardly regard as a radical supporter of the president.

Aleksandr Petrovich, lately we have already observed several cases of virtual disbandment of committees and commissions whose leaders and members were not to the personal liking of Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov. Now, judging from what happened in the Supreme Soviet this week and from the tone in which Ruslan Imranovich mentioned your name, many have begun saying that your commission and you in person are the next target. Is that so?

[Pochinok] Well, let people say what they want. We are continuing to work and will continue to work. Although there is a desire literally to shoot down, just like that, one after the other, those who disagree with the general line, and the general ideology. It can be felt and it unfortunately permeates the very spirit and flesh of the Supreme Soviet and this is very sad.

[Kiselev] What specifically is the basis of these disagreements?

[Pochinok] Well, what is happening now? You know, in my view, ultimately, it is like we are seeing, in a historical film, the attempt of a small-scale Stalin to appear, an attempt to return to 1937. It is a desire to bring back, once again, one dominant ideology, a desire to create once again a system of one power, of one party and to make a party out of the soviet, out of the body of people's power—that is what it should remain—a subordinate party: The top commands the bottom; democratic centralism; the subordination of the minority to the majority; there is a correct point of view; and the historic phrase—if you speak correctly I will not interrupt you; and that is it. When professionals doing their job begin to be kicked out and when political trials begin, that is painful, very painful.

[Kiselev] If I understand you correctly, it is no longer a case of disagreements purely over the process of making laws or over the various approaches to the implementation of economic reforms, but rather of naked politics. Is that so? A case of the struggle for power?

[Pochinok] Yes, the process is underway of shooting down the 10 members of the Presidium who dared to have their own view of Supreme Soviet policy. We demanded one thing: Good, straight talking, that we put our own house in order, the absence of persecution for dissent, and the opportunity to work normally in the Supreme Soviet. In response to this, the ruling party, or rather those people who regard themselves as the ruling party, are aiming to drive out all those who dissent, at any price; and there you have it. This is very close to death agony, as such; very close. The very last paper that came into my hands—I was brought a project to set up a special laboratory to monitor the quality of food—the cost was 105 million rubles [R] and the wages fund was R650,000.

[Kiselev] Within the White House?

[Pochinok] So that, God forbid, no one should be poisoned. That just shows the level things have reached in the Supreme Soviet.

[Kiselev] In this situation, how do you see the future of the Supreme Soviet?

[Pochinok] Well, there are two options here. Either we stop and realize that time is passing by and time is changing. After all, it cannot be the case that we had Shumeyko, he was our own man, a deputy, then he joined the government and turned bad; there was Filatov, he used to be our man, then he went over and turned bad. Look at the logic. Then there was Yarov—he was our own deputy, joined the government and turned bad. We have to think it through: That all those people who leave to join executive power have not changed. They remain the same people they have always been. This means that the conflict that has been artificially incited between legislative and executive power—it is not even invented, it has been implanted.

This is the consequence of political struggle, and we must stop. Or, if it can no longer be stopped, then this means self-isolation and this cannot be allowed. We must finish our job honorably. We have to finish it with the adoption of a new constitution. We must prepare the ground for new bodies of legislative power. We are duty-bound to do this. I believe in the prudence of deputies, in spite of everything.

[Kiselev] Thank you Aleksandr Petrovich.

[Pochinok] Thank you.

Parliament Meeting in Joint Session 25 Jun

LD2506132993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent M.Vasilyeva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the chambers of the Russian parliament are meeting jointly. The agenda is sufficiently full. Draft legislation on the citizens' right to freedom of movement and choice of residence, on freedom to hold public auctions, on the state monopoly for alcohol manufacture, as well as amendments and changes to the law on mass media are to be discussed today. Provision for the Federal supervision council for ensuring freedom of speech on the state television and radio broadcasting networks is also to be examined.

The morning session began with criticism of the television for violating the agreement on coverage of yesterday's session devoted to questions of corruption within the high echelons of power. Parliamentarians voted for a repeat broadcast of this session today on Ostankino First Channel at a time that would be convenient for viewers.

After that, deputies began hearing the Supreme Soviet committees' reports. Also today, the parliament intends to return to ratification of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the Russian Federation and Hungary.

Khasbulatov Addresses Session

LD2606193993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1940 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Address by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to 25 June Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, esteemed chairman—I am addressing Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov who will take my place for the period I am speaking—I do not like the way the discussion of our structural subdivisions is going, the same way as I did not like yesterday's discussion when you, in cavalier fashion, set about the previous discussion in the Supreme Soviet. If everything is so wonderful, if you adhere to the position that all the committees and commissions are working properly then the question arises: Who is working badly? [indistinct remark from the hall] Who then is working badly?

The whole country and the whole world is saying that reactionaries are gathered here, that progressive laws are not adopted here, that somebody here is organizing a confrontation. But when we get down to the concrete situation at, so to speak, the microlevel it turns out that everybody is working properly. Then, excuse me, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet I am not satisfied with the Supreme Soviet's position. I am dissatisfied with your conformist position as a whole—whether it be on the right, the left, or in the center.

You should approach a discussion in a more responsible way. We will allocate another week for the discussion if necessary. One should not tackle matters in such a way as you do. Well, I still consider that you have many flaws. What specifically are they? OK then: Why is there a lack of a relevant legislative basis? Why have you failed to ensure the relevant legislative basis? For example, we have been talking today a lot about violations of the Privatization Law; we discussed that. True, violations exist there. But whose duty is it to propose to the Supreme Soviet that it adopts the relevant law on criminal liability for violations in the privatization sphere?

We have repeatedly spoken, and I have been speaking about that too—an electronic works on whose construction $200 million was spent, is being sold for 50 million rubles [R]. You know perfectly well who is doing this particular thing. So why cannot the appropriate court, the procuracy, institute criminal proceedings for violations of the federal law on privatization? Who has to do it? Well, we have not got the law, that is why. But it was you who had to ensure it, together with the Committee for Legislation. Can you not see that this is your responsibility?

Generally speaking, there are three sides to the work of the structural subdivisions of the Supreme Soviet, its committees and commission. One is to draw up draft laws; the other is monitoring, and the third is the practical one. You have very many shortcomings on all those three fronts. I have already spoken about the draft laws side; as for monitoring, you have discussed it at length yourselves, and I can also say quite a lot. I can mention the fact that we are not given a hard currency budget, but after all there ought to be a concrete monitoring role! Why do you not put this issue for discussion at the Supreme Soviet. Say, in this particular sphere this and that has been done. This particular member of the government will not obey orders, and violates this or that federal law. If there is no such federal law, go ahead and propose an appropriate federal law—in your particular sphere, in your particular sector of the economy.

Now, practical work. Yes, we have travelled a lot, me and you. You have considerable personal weight among industrialists. But, excuse me, I and my small apparatus now have to initiate this conference. But we have not really got a single industrial strategy in practical terms; we have not. Some industrial circles look this way, others that way. If a juicy bit is offered somewhere, they all hurry along there. But so far, there has been no authoritative word from the Committee for Industry that would have been really influential and would have made industrialists think about the future of this country and this country's enterprise. It has not so far been playing this role, and to a large extent we have to make up for that. Therefore, I do not want you to cherish any illusions about any so-called healthy situation in your committee. Maybe it is more healthy than in those subdivisions that do nothing at all, or nothing but harm to the Supreme Soviet and representative authority—but there are still too many shortcomings.

Let us consider one specific matter. Do you know by how much the numbers of administrative and managerial staff increased from 1 January 1992 to June 1993? I mean administrative and managerial staff at Russian enterprises. Are you interested? But is it not a key issue? Well, I will tell you. It grew by a factor of 2.7, and do not shove these reference books at me, Deputy Manannikov! You will not find these figures in any reference books. What does it mean? It confirms Professor Popov's thesis that the process has taken on a bureaucratic form. Remember, a couple years ago he said that there could be either people's privatization or bureaucratic privatization. So now we have this bureaucratic privatization underway. Or, more precisely, from the point of view of world practices and terminology, this is not so much privatization, as denationalization. This term has to be used more often. Therefore we also have to sort this matter out.

[Ryabov] Ruslan Imranovich, being chairman I have to remind you...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, I am sorry, Nikolay Timofeyevich, I am concluding. So you have only mentioned one law, but help should really be given! The president has sent this here. I think it was all prepared very hastily and sent over, saying that such and such laws are counterproductive. Let us not cling to procedure. Take these laws, discuss them and table your proposals. Maybe something is really counterproductive, and has been for a long time; maybe certain laws have to be repealed. Therefore I do not want to say anything disagreeable, but I would like the committee to show more initiative, enterprise, and responsibility in its work. Thank you.

Draft Constitution Presented

LD2506170093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1652 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—It seems the Russian parliament plans to work on the new Russian constitution simultaneously with the constitutional conference convened by the president, as today's session listened to a report of Executive Secretary of the Russian Constitutional Commission Ivan Fedoseyev on the commission's work on the new fundamental law.

Major provisions of the draft constitution prepared by a working group of the constitutional commission focus on the system of people's deputies councils as the main link in the Russian representative authority, the president as the head of the state and equality of all federation subjects, with the exception of cases specially mentioned in the constitution.

Deputies took the report into account. A joint session of the parliament chambers is expected to discuss major provisions of the draft in the near future.

The parliament continues to think the constitution should be adopted by a Congress of People's Deputies. The date of the congress was set by the parliament back in late April—November 17, 1993.

Stepashin 'May Be Removed'

MK2506110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 28, 25 Jun 93 (signed to press 24 Jun) p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Stepashin May Be Removed From Office"]

[Text] A report of the committee for defense and security matters headed by Sergey Stepashin is to come under scrutiny of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet plenary session this morning.

In the opinion of a number of parliamentarians, the probability is great that the discussion will end in the removal of the committee's head from the post he occupies.

Deputies Call For No Confidence in Leadership

LD2606140093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1206 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun—Some people's deputies have called for their colleagues to express no confidence in the current leadership of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet for the sake of establishing a real parliamentary system in Russia, supporting stability in the country, and preserving the Russian state itself. More than 50 representatives elected by the people have already signed the appeal.

The document says that recently a number of senior officials of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet have "repeatedly made statements in the media about the alleged danger of the elimination of the newborn parliamentary system in the Russian Federation by bodies of executive power and, within this context, the growing threat of an autocratic dictatorship by the president of the Russian Federation. A real parliamentary system is unconditionally the most important sign of a democratic state, allowing electors to express their will through representatives of the people and to thereby take a real part in exercising state power. One of the most important distinctions of a real parliamentary system is that the views and opinions of various levels of society and different social and political groups are represented in parliament. The rigorous observation of democratic parliamentary procedures allows agreed and balanced decisions which meet the interests of society to be reached and adopted by a process of discussion."

"The working practices of the Russian Supreme Soviet cause serious worry for the fate of our newborn parliamentary system," says the appeal.

"The usurpation of the authority to speak on behalf of the people—this infamous phenomenon in the political life of our country—has become the rule for the leadership of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Despite the fact that the results of the all-Russian referendum of 25 April convincingly showed the disparity between the opinion of the Supreme Soviet and the opinion of the majority of voters, speculation as to how 'the will of the people' should be represented continues. The nonacceptance of any point of view, apart from their own, and the attempt to force decisions suitable for themselves at any price—this is the constant practice of 'the leaders' of parliament. Attempts by people's deputies simply to express their own opinions are repressed in the best traditions of the 'father of the people' and chamber commissions and Russian Supreme Soviet committees are abolished when they attempt to defend the right of people's deputies to lay out their own opinions rather than those of the leaders of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The practical disbandment of the committee on the mass media, the committee on economic reform and property, and the committee on legislation threatens the process of democratic transformations in Russia. Politically motivated persecution forces many people's deputies to stop active work in the Supreme Soviet."

"The violation of the constitutional principle of the separation of powers and the assumption of the functions of executive and judicial authority as a usual practice of the Supreme Soviet—this directly follows the Leninist concept of 'the complete authority of the soviets,' which has nothing in common with a genuine parliamentary system. The leadership of the Supreme Soviet takes upon itself the audacity to judge all and hang labels on people while refusing to take upon itself the slightest responsibility for the transformations being carried out in the country."

"Premeditated violations of the voting procedure, when an item which suits the person in the chair is voted on several times, when people's deputies are not given the floor, when texts of draft decisions are swapped around or reworded after the voting, when votes are cast by a single people's deputy using a large number of voting cards, when... [punctuation as received] This list is far from inclusive of all the methods of achieving 'accord' at the Supreme Soviet."

"We, the people's deputies of the Russian Federation," the appeal says, "think that the actions of the head of the Russian Supreme Soviet cast a shadow over the entire corps of deputies and the very idea of representative democracy and compromise the reforms begun by the Congress of Russian People's Deputies. We call upon all the Russian people's deputies to express no confidence in the present leadership of the Russian Supreme Soviet for the sake of creating a real parliamentary system in Russia, for the sake of maintaining stability in the country, and for the sake of preserving the Russian state itself."

The collection of signatures under the appeal continues.

Regional Affairs

Gunfire Exchanged in N. Ossetia, Ingushetia

LD2506163493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1450 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 25 TASS— Fire exchanges were reported again from the restricted area of the state of emergency regime on territories of northern Ossetia and Ingushetia.

Automatic rifle fire was registered last night in the suburbs of Vladikavkaz, in the area of an oil base and on the outskirts of the settlements of Chermen and Maiskoye, sources at the North Ossetian Security Council told ITAR-TASS. There is no information about victims.

Fire was also reported from the area adjoining the location of Russian interior troops in Nazran. Response fire was not delivered.

The crime situation remains extremely difficult in the area. A total of 15 crimes have been registered, 17 people have been detained for administrative violations, and over 1,000 cars have been inspected over the past 24 hours. Criminals have put into circulation a large batch of counterfeit 5,000-roubles banknotes, according to information of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry's department against economic crimes.

In the opinion of head of the temporary administration's negotiations service Vladimir Ugrovatov, published today by the North Ossetia newspaper, "political and legal estimation of the armed Ossetian-Ingush conflict must be done immediately".

Situation Remains 'Complicated'

LD2706134293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1306 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 27 TASS—The operational situation in the state of emergency zone on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia remains rather complicated.

The military believe that the criminological situation in the region remains very tense. 15 crimes were registered here over the past twenty-four hours. According to the information of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry, on the night to Saturday unidentified persons brutally killed in the Suargom Gorge four shepherds of the "Pervomaiskiy" state farm, who were grazing sheep on mountain slopes. One shepherd was heavily injured. The case is being investigated.

Gangsters seem to be turning the remote and out-of-the-way Suargom Gorge into their stronghold. On the night to June 6, criminals shot seven Ossetians in the same gorge, who had transported 11 tons of petrol to the Transcaucasus in three trucks.

The two sides suspended the exchange of hostages in the conflict zone some 8 months ago. To resume this process, the negotiating service of the temporary administration on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia held on Sunday a meeting of Ossetian and Ingush women searching for their relatives listed among the missing in the armed conflict in the Prigorodnyy District. The both republics' residents will be informed about the results of the meeting, and data on the missing will be forwarded to the temporary administration for conducting a search.

Dudayev: Yeltsin's Constitution Enshrines Colonialism

LD2406210793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Video interview with Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Dudayev] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's constitution is promising in principle. He even proposes to transfer some of his powers to other legislative bodies and to the executive, but there is one serious point there that enshrines the virtual colonial situation of the remaining republics and peoples. It seems to me that such a version of the constitution is being forcibly imposed on Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Chechen Economic Program Envisages Return to State Orders

LD2706205293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Report by R. Khadzhiyev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] After recent political upheavals, the Chechen Republic has returned to normal life. Today the local press published the Chechen Republic's draft economic program for 1993 and 1994.

Unlike reformist economists, Dudayev's ministers call for a return to the system of state orders and a clear-cut tax policy. As for the president himself, he had this to say on the issue while speaking on local TV yesterday: "Let some regard this as a step back, but by these measures we will save both our unique industry and invaluable work force."

As for foreign economic ties, official Chechnya prefers to trade with neighbors rather than look for wheat in Canada.

[Begin Dudayev recording] We have now concluded a R [ruble] 55 billion agreement with Stavropol Kray, as well as with other regions and republics. There is an integrated program for development of the region in the interests of all its residents. [end recording]

Chernomyrdin 'Stunned' by KamAZ Fire Damage

PM2406130193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By Ilyas Latypov and Vitaliy Bezmenov, from Tatarstan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Latypov] Viktor Chernomyrdin began his first visit to Tatarstan in his capacity as prime minister at the KamAZ, or more precisely at the engine plant, which recently burned down. Oil and gas workers know him well from his previous job, of course.

He was stunned by the scene of devastation when he saw it for himself. One of the best KamAZ production units lies in ruins. Seventy percent of production equipment was burned out or put out of action. Restoration work is under way. Just like during the construction years, dozens of cities are aiding KamAZ. The main production line is in operation. Up to 250 motor vehicles are being produced here daily. Some of the engines are assembled at the repair plant and some are delivered from elsewhere. [passage omitted]

Promises Funds To Rebuild

PM2406133193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Government, currently on a working visit in Tatarstan, visited the KamAZ Joint-Stock Company's diesel engine plant, where a fire some two months ago put around 70 percent of the production equipment out of action. The prime minister promised that 45 billion rubles [R] will be allocated within the next few days for the restoration of this plant.

In the opinion of the plant's management, some R255 billion and $149 million are needed.

The program of Viktor Chernomyrdin's two-day stay in Tatarstan also includes visits to the Yelabuga automobile plant, plants producing aircraft equipment and equipment for the oil and gas industry, and a shipyard.

Paper Reports on Visit

PM2406142593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Boris Bronshteyn report: "Moscow Does Not Intend To Lecture Regions, Chernomyrdin States in Kazan"]

[Text] Kazan—The two-day visit to Tatarstan by a Russian Federation Government delegation headed by Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin has ended.

Rating Tatarstan's industrial potential highly, at a brief news conference Chernomyrdin twice repeated the highly ambiguous phrase: We must not lose all this. Supporters of Tatarstan's complete isolation could interpret these words in their own way, but in saying "we" Viktor Stepanovich nonetheless meant both Russia and Tatarstan. "Not one Russian region will be able to survive autonomously," the Russian premier stressed, and on this occasion nobody argued with him.

In front of journalists the heads of the Russian and Tatarstan Governments exhibited personally friendly relations that have been formed over many years in the process of joint work in the oil and gas sectors. Moscow does not intend to lecture the regions on how they should live, Chernomyrdin stated, adding persuasively: Let my friend Sabirov say whether I am hindering his work. Tatarstan Prime Minister Mukhammat Sabirov readily confirmed: He isn't.

The only difference of opinion between them arose on the question of including a point concerning Tatarstan's special status in the future Russian Constitution. Chernomyrdin said that this point would be unlikely to appear, while Sabirov stated that Tatarstan would still try to get it included.

By the end of the second day of the visit the sides had signed three intergovernmental agreements: on ownership, a customs service, and the military-industrial complex.

Mordovian President Guslyannikov on Political Situation

OW2506112293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 17 June 93

[Studio interview with Mordovian President Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Guslyannikov by Maksim Nikulin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Nikulin] As you know, the "Utro" program has no clear-cut political image. Naturally, we inform you of the most important events of current politics but do not examine them in detail. However, there are exceptions. Therefore, our guest today is Mordovian President Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Guslyannikov.

What is the question all about? Let me remind you: The Mordovian Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on 7 April annulling the post of the president and introducing changes in the acting constitution. A session of the constitutional court was held after that. The Russian constitutional court examined the issue and handed the decision over to the Mordovian Supreme Soviet. Is this correct?

[Guslyannikov] To the constitutional court.

[Nikulin] The Mordovian constitutional court. In other words, the issue is out of the jurisdiction of the Russian constitutional court. So, Vasiliy Dmitriyevich, could you give us your own version of the events in a few words? Why has your supreme soviet adopted such a law?

[Guslyannikov] I should probably begin at the end. The Russian constitutional court deliberated for three days but did not decide the problem facing it, as we have indicated in our appeal. We have requested the examination of the constitutionality of the adopted law. We pointed out concrete articles and the main principles in accordance with the Russian Constitution. The main principles introduced into our acting constitution are: the principle of division of powers, the principle of authority of the people, and the principle of federation. The constitutional court examined this question for three days, and as they say, the mountain gave birth to a mouse. Instead of solving this problem, the main questions were handed over to the constitutional court of the republic itself to decide on.

[Nikulin] Your point of departure was that since Mordovia is a part of Russia, all actions by its supreme court should correspond with the Russian Constitution.

[Guslyannikov] This is an unshakeable principle incorporated in the Russian Constitution, and it says so in the Mordovian Constitution itself. Moreover, I appealed to the Russian constitutional court on 8 April because the Mordovian constitutional court did not exist.

[Nikulin] Meanwhile, it has been successfully created.

[Guslyannikov] It has been created, but I still do not know whether it is legitimate. Our constitution, which functioned up to the beginning of the Supreme Soviet session on 2 April—and I maintain that this constitution is still in force—states that all laws are to be signed by the president and you cannot introduce changes in the constitution without a law.

[Nikulin] So what why did the Supreme Soviet adopt such a...

[Guslyannikov, interrupting] There are several reasons. I think there are three reasons; the main one is the fact that the Supreme Soviet could not accept me as its equal. I was a Supreme Soviet deputy at the first session and asked for the floor in order to propose an alternative candidate for the post of Supreme Soviet chairman. The question was put to vote, and the majority of the deputies—130 deputies out of 175 had been elected without an alternative—voted not to let me speak. However, by that time there has already been an attempt to impeach the Russian president, and it seems that the Supreme Soviet had acquired some confidence and power—all power to the soviets [a communist slogan during the October Revolution]—so they felt they could do anything, and decided to conduct some experiments. They chose our republic as their testing ground, saying: If we succeed in crushing the executive power there, we will push on. I would say there is some documentation that such a scenario has already been prepared in several republics, and the fact that it did not work in our republic has chilled the passions of these hotheads. An attempt of the representative power to subdue the executive power in violation of the principle of division of powers is obvious here. The third reason is not the most important one, but I think that it exists. It has to do with the fact that Nikolay Vasilyevich Biryukov, who was Supreme Soviet chairman, lost the elections to me. The question of removing him from his post of Supreme Soviet chairman before his term was already discussed a year ago. He managed to stay on his post only through a well-tried method—he got himself hospitalized. He knows that if he does not find a job for the Supreme Soviet, if he does not get it to fight someone—in this case it is me—then they would fight him. Therefore, he chose the lesser evil and led the Supreme Soviet in its attack on the president and the whole presidential structure.

[Nikulin] What are your plans for the near future?

[Guslyannikov] I will make all the necessary efforts to assume my rightful place in accordance with the law, especially since Russian Internal Affairs Minister Yerin assured me the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] is not involved in anything. And if the MVD is not involved in anything, I have no problems at all. We can easily handle those impostors ourselves. The rest will have to be decided by the constitutional court. It will be as it decides.

[Nikulin] I have a deep respect for law, no matter what law it is. There are good laws, and some are not so good, but I am deeply convinced that they should be obeyed. Therefore I wish you success.

[Guslyannikov] Thank you.

[Nikulin] Thank you for coming here. Let me remind you that today we had with us Mordovian President Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Guslyannikov.

[Guslyannikov] Thank you.

Buryatia Shows Little Interest in Constitution

PM2506101593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Gennadiy Gypylov report: "Designed for Indifferent Man in Street"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude—The question of Russia's new constitution was discussed at the latest Buryat Supreme Soviet session. But there was not a big debate.

The deputies recalled that Buryatia had prepared its own draft of the republic's Fundamental Law—this was done several years ago, but it has not yet been adopted. S. Kalmykov, rector of a teacher training institute, remarked that "first we must adopt it and then we must substantiate our positions in federal disputes." And yet parliament agreed with the opinion of L. Potapov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet (incidentally, he was recently elected a Russian Federation people's deputy): "Rumyantsev's version is more attractive because it is based on a legitimate procedure of elaboration and adoption and it also takes account of the suggestions of the republics, krays, and oblasts—components of the Federation."

In general, the people are little interested in this June "altercation," and the lively mood that existed, for example, on the eve of the referendum is missing. There is talk and gossip about everything in the world, except what is emerging from the capital over television and radio channels and in newspaper pages. "What the president is proposing is designed for the indifferent man in the street waiting for another handout from him. The constitution must be adopted either by a referendum or by the Congress, and therefore the president and his entourage are feverishly seeking an opportunity to circumvent the people's will. This is the purpose for which the present conference has been devised"—that is the opinion of teacher V. Safronov, published in the newspaper PRAVDA BURYATII.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Expresses 'Sorrow' Over Baghdad Attack

LD2706210493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press center has expressed sorrow over the recent bombing of Baghdad by U.S. cruise missiles, which caused casualties among the peaceful population. This action is another reminder that all nations and peoples should respect the generally recognized principles and norms. It is difficult to say to what extent this action is in agreement with the respective decisions of the UN Security Council. However, says the report from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press center, it is a pity that no less dangerous new outbursts are added to dangerous and by far unregulated conflicts, as a result of which peaceful and completely innocent people suffer.

Kuchma Calls For Moratorium on Russian Energy Prices

LD2706192893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said it was extremely important to reach agreement with Russia about a moratorium on raising prices for energy resources for the next year or two, in order to save our state's economy. He also said that an agreement on the continuation of oil supplies had been reached with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin during his visit to Kiev

Leonid Kuchma said this in the course of his tour of the southern and western oblasts of Ukraine where he familiarized himself with the state of affairs in agriculture prior to the gathering of the harvest.

Comments on Meeting With Chernomyrdin

LD2506164693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1353 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The accord Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma reached yesterday with the Russian prime minister inspires a certain optimism. Here's what Leonid Kuchma said about this today:

[Begin Kuchma recording] In general, I get on quite well with Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin], because we're both sons of the plow and both he and I are practically agreed that we need to concern ourselves rather less with politics and more with getting on with the job. We have an understanding, and I'm very glad of that. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk, Shevardnadze Express 'Satisfaction' With Meeting

LD2606171293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1646 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 26 Jun—A working meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state and chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Georgia, who was returning home from an official visit to Germany, was held today at the Ukrainian capital's Borispol airport by mutual agreement. The heads of the two states discussed a range of issues of mutual interest. Leonid Kravchuk and Eduard Shevardnadze expressed their satisfaction with the results of the meeting.

Durdynets Meets U.S. Official, Lauds Economic Ties

LD2406164393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] On 23 June, Verkhovna Rada [parliament] First Deputy Chairman Vasyl Durdynets met in Kiev with Brian Atwood, U.S. assistant state secretary and chief executive officer of the Agency for International Development. Vasyl Durdynets noted with satisfaction expanding U.S.-Ukrainian relations since the two countries' governments signed a bilateral agreement on their technical, economic, and humanitarian cooperation. He also noted the stable quality of interparliamentary relations between the United States and Ukraine.

Mr. Durdynets lauded the agency's efforts to promote and establish free market economic relations in Ukraine through its numerous long-term projects, primarily involving the agroindustrial complex, research and enlightenment programs, health care, and so on. In his turn, Brian Atwood singled out some major channels for rendering U.S. humanitarian and technical aid to Ukraine. The meeting was attended by U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Roman Popadyuk.

Parliamentarians Protest Knesset Speaker's Remarks

LD2406144793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 2356 GMT 22 Jun 93

[From the UKRINFORM press review]

[Excerpt] Kiev, 22 Jun (UKRINFORM)—The HOLOS UKRAINY and MOLOD UKRAINY newspapers carry a statement by a group of Ukrainian parliamentarians that they made in connection with the speech by Shevah Weiss, speaker of Israel's Knesset, at the plenary session of the Supreme Council on 15 June during his official visit to Ukraine. His address contained the following words (the papers are quoting these according to the text distributed by the Israeli side at Weiss' news conference in Kiev):

"Let me now note very briefly our ambivalent attitude toward the Ukrainian nation, as well as to other nations which followed the Germans—the German Nazis—during World War II, serving the destruction machine they created, and thus helping them push almost the whole of the European civilization on the road of unprecedented crimes."

The statement by Ukrainian parliamentarians sent to the Supreme Council Presidium and the foreign minister of Ukraine says, in particular: "The civilized world has not yet known a case in which the whole nation is blamed for crimes. This was done perhaps only by the Stalin and Hitler totalitarian regimes proceeding from their peculiar ideas on law and morality. ...It is surprising that Shevah Weiss made this shameful attack against the nation whose representatives saved him during the years of World War II. It was not only Shevah Weiss whom Ukrainians saved. It is worth mentioning Metropolitan [Andriy] Sheptytskyy, who organized the rescue of hundreds of Jews in Lvov.

"If one follows the logic of Shevah Weiss," the statement stresses, "then can there be an ambivalent attitude toward the nation of Israel, whose representative Marx created a misanthropic theory, while such well-known Israelites as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Kaganovich led the Soviet machine of repression and famine in the course of which 30 million Ukrainians died? There were quite a few Jews in the repressive bodies of VCHK [the All-Union Extraordinary Commission, Vsesoyuznaya Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya]. So do we have the right to blame the whole of the Jewish nation for crimes against the Ukrainian people? No, and no. But somehow the speaker of the Israeli Knesset did this with regard to the Ukrainian nation. We believe that the speech by the speaker of Israel's Knesset in the Ukrainian parliament was not conducive to mutual understanding and cooperation between the nations of Ukraine and Israel. We hereby express our resolute protest on this account and demand that Shevah Weiss find a way to disavow his attack against the Ukrainian nation."

HOLOS UKRAINY reports that Ukraine's leaders received a letter by Shevah Weiss in which he notes, in particular: "The tragedy of the Jewish nation in World War II was, it is known, a horrible manifestation of genocide. This killing was executed in a planned and cruel manner by German fascists who were assisted by hostile anti-Semitic elements in Europe, including some Ukrainians. I condemn those who assisted the Nazis. But I am not at all blaming the whole nation. I am against any kind of stereotypes. At the same time, there were people in Europe who helped the Jews. Among those, too, were many Ukrainians, like this wonderful lady, Yuliya Matchyshyn, who risked her life, saving me and my family. I know that there were many such Yuliyas. I pointed this out in my address to the parliament, which I delivered in my language, the Hebrew language. Unfortunately, without my knowledge, an error crept into the translation of the address. An important word was missed in the Ukrainian translation, which resulted in a misunderstanding I regret very much." [passage omitted]

Official Details Information on Illegal Migration

LD2706221293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1540 GMT 27 Jun 93

[by UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Excerpt] Kiev, 27 Jun—Ukraine has become the main trans-shipment base for illegal migrants from oriental and African countries on their way to the West European states. Its geographical location, the democratic changes on its western borders, and the openness of its eastern borders have made Ukraine the most convenient path for illegal migrants from "third" countries, who are ready to sell themselves on western labor markets for next to nothing. For the overwhelming majority of the hidden resettlers, the final destination is Germany. For the remaining 12 to 15 percent of violators, it is the United States of America and other European states.

Colonel General Valeriy Hubenko, commander of the Ukraine border troops and chairman of the State Committee for the Protection of the State Border of ukraine, said today at a news conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists that over the past years illegal migration has gone beyond the scope of individual states and turned into a worldwide problem. It poses a real threat to public security, and stimulates the crime rate, the spread of dangerous diseases, and expansion of the underground labor market.

Meanwhile, Ukraine, chosen by the traders in illegal migrants as the main path to the west, is becoming an ever more powerful barrier to their efforts. Despite the fact that transit migration processes are something new for the young independent state, the government of the country, the border guards, and other competent bodies are doing all they can to reduce the flow of illegal migrants from east to west. As was reported at the news conference, over the past year alone several thousand attempts to "smuggle" people have been thwarted on the western border. Nonetheless, the number of citizens of Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle and Far East, who are dreaming of improving their material well-being in the developed states, is steadily growing. In 1991 Ukrainian border guards detained 45 citizens of "third" countries on the western border. This year they have already detained about 3,000. [passage omitted]

National Affairs

Kravchuk Views Results of Strikes, Economic Issues

LD2606185593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1610 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by unidentified correspondent on 24 June; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Leonid Makarovych, as we know, yesterday both the government and the Supreme Council examined, so to speak, the preliminary outcome of the recent strike, (?which) is not over yet. As they said, this outcome is very sad. And Ukraine may simply not be able to withstand another strike like this. You, as the president of our state, were directly in touch with the strikers and took part in organizing the settlement of their demands by the government. What ideas occurred to you during that, and what is your assessment of these actions?

[Kravchuk] First of all, I would like to emphasize that every person today—and if not every person then most people, not only the miners, but machinebuilders, metallurgists, and workers in the countryside—has every reason to be dissatisfied with the situation that the economy, the social sphere, and life are in. That is why, in all, there are many reasons for protest. There is a question here that the forms of people's protest against policies and certain steps of the power structures, the president, and the Supreme Council exist all over the world, it is not some exception in Ukraine. But the strike is an extreme form; it is a form leading to a standstill in production. As you put it correctly, another strike like this and Ukraine's economy simply will not hold out, and thus production will come to a halt, our metallurgical giants and then machinebuilding will come to a halt, and then in fact there will be nothing for us to do about the situation—because we will have to start from scratch. Thus, talking about people's right to protest, I do not believe the strike to be the only right way toward satisfying one's needs.

There is another reason here. It seems to me that had the government, as well as the president's administration and local administrations, cooperated more seriously in the sphere of production and in the social sphere, I think there would not have been a strike. Look, when we examined the issue of the strike in the government, most of the issues put forward by the miners had been resolved in the course of two-day negotiations. Only the most complicated ones were left. Thus, a background was created, one that keeps aggravating the people when the issues that could be resolved, say, in Donetsk Oblast, need to be resolved in Kiev, and they cannot be resolved in Kiev because somebody does not want this or takes a different stand; that is, there are objective problems here. When it all added up to a big problem, then, as you see, it became very difficult to resolve all of this. I hope the miners and other workers realize this because if we do not increase production, then, I repeat, no other steps, be it a pay rise or something else, will produce any effect. We only need to increase production.

The strikes have revealed a broader picture, that there are opportunities to do this. And I, for example, have said this to the strike committees, and I will say this to you now. I told them this: Any steps aimed at removing obstacles to independently solving economic and other issues, to earning, selling, buying, and, on this basis, increasing the opportunities of satisfying people's needs, either at a mine or at a factory, will be made by me in a very broad and active manner.

Here is an example that I wanted to tell you about. I signed a decree yesterday on a system of an open economy on the territory of the Republic of Crimea. What is this about? First, the decision of the Crimean Supreme Council was supported, and so this regime functions. What does it envisage? The liberalization of financial and banking, taxation, and budgetary, foreign economic, and customs relations with the aim of ensuring the necessary conditions for developing entrepreneurship, attracting and protecting foreign investments, introducing a simplified procedure for the registration and activity of foreign firms and banks and their branches and sections. All of this is within the framework of the Constitution and Ukraine's laws, and the law on delimitation of powers between the bodies of state power of Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea.

Such steps can be taken for any oblast, for Kharkov Oblast, for Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, for Donetsk Oblast, for Lugansk Oblast. That is, if, for example, 106 billion karbovantsi and 3,414,000 tons of coal have been lost by this, I can imagine that if one were to sell these 3,414,000 tons of coal today one could just receive the money and utilize this money to satisfy the demands of those miners or [words indistinct]; that is, by this I want to stress that a strike that leads to a sharp decline in production and may threaten the economy is a path that leads to a dead end. On the other hand, I want to stress that all power structures—government ones, presidential ones, and in the provinces—should interact in such a way with labor collectives so that strikes do not result.

[Correspondent] But surely a fundamental difference exists between the decisions that are adopted to satisfy specific demands and those directed at reforming [word indistinct] stabilizing the economy as whole; that is, at preventing the very reasons for a strike in general? [passage indistinct]

[Kravchuk] Well, you see, this wave of strikes is a way of temporarily satisfying people's needs. For example, if it is not sensibly resolved now, conditionally speaking, wages are doubled, but there are no goods, and I know that next month prices will increase and there will be another strike to double wages again—there will never be an end to it. That is, one may increase, but if there are no goods then prices rise automatically and however you divide up what we have, there will not be more because of this.

The path of reform is a way of increasing production. Incidentally, when we had a conversation today with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovych Chernomyrdin, the main subject of the conversation was how to create conditions so Ukrainian enterprises and Russian enterprises can cooperate and strengthen links with each other on a new basis—not on the basis that we often hear about—and so they all come together on returning to centralized planning (?for) establishing links—this is not a realistic matter now. Only (?entrepreneurship)—by means of mutual shareholding, the path of mutual relations—binds them so firmly by financial links, by shares, by technology, so no one will be able to tear them apart. Those links that were torn apart were those that did not have firm foundations. This needs to be kept in mind.

For example, we have an enterprise in Zaporozhye called Zaporozhsich. It is well-known that it received a certificate for producing engines. I ask myself: Engines from this enterprise are utilized by all of the plants of the former Union, why then do they not have shares in Zaprozhsich in Kazan or in Ulyanovsk aviation plants? After all, this is of interest to them. Take our Antonov design office, which has certificates and which has developed the best transport plane in the world, the AN-70, why not launch its production along with Russian plants and receive income from this? Because this is, I repeat without exaggeration, the best transport plane in the world today.

In other words, there are things, that....[changes thought] It is necessary to interact on an absolutely new basis, so that this can be done by collectives. Then nobody will accuse either the president or the government of disrupting ties. Nobody ever disrupted ties. When every republic of the former Union began to build its economy and its state, then these ties were viewed at a different angle. In haste, some things were overlooked regarding certain things, and appropriate conditions were not created in some places. For the state, these conditions are: mutual settlements, promotion, duties, borders, and free trade. This is what the state should do. The state should not say that this enterprise should make friends and maintain relations with that enterprise.

When the state does all this—and we were talking today about this with Viktor Stepanovych Chernomyrdin—then every enterprise will find its partner, and they will together bring both enterprises to the world level of technology and the world level of competition, and they will sell their products for dollars.

I can put the question today as follows. They tell me: We do not have raw materials. Give us raw materials, and we will produce. What will they produce? There are enterprises that already manufacture competitive products that are sold. Does the Kharkov turbine plant need any support now as far as technology is concerned? Its products are in great demand.

I received the ambassador of Uruguay today. He said Ukrainian light illuminates the people of Uruguay. He had in mind our turbines. There is also a plant whose collective and director just do not want to do anything to reach such a world level. They say: Give us raw materials and we will manufacture products. Where will their products go, I ask, if nobody takes them? To the warehouse? This was true in the past. They were manufacturing for the warehouse. Today, even [word indistinct] is supplied according to planned, distributive functions [words indistinct].

This means that it is necessary to look for other relations that are necessary and for the products necessary for Ukraine, for Russia, for Belarus, and for others. In other words, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that [words indistinct] other schemes. By the way, at the Supreme Council yesterday, you probably paid attention to the fact that we again [word indistinct] that there are two contradicting stands. One stand was expounded by one of the deputies. I do not remember who it was exactly. The other stand—a plan of action—was expounded by [Ukrainian Socialist Party leader] Moroz.

I do not want to say that no valuable proposals whatsoever are contained in that plan of action. I do not want to say that. They are. For example, those concerning the agrarian sector are valuable. I was listening. Prime Minister Kuchma expounded a plan of action. The plans are diametrically opposed, as to their essence and as to their aims. There are two policies in parliament, two stands in parliament, but how is the executive authority to work? This is the executive authority and it must carry out one policy not two. Therefore, these two opposing stands, these two policies, do not allow work to proceed normally. When Kuchma announced his plan, they said he was carrying out the policy of Rukh. If even Kuchma is a Rukh member, then there are probably no non-Rukh members here in Ukraine at all—with the exception of separate individuals. This is the situation, you see? Even nobody can [words indistinct] what policy, what strategic line is to be carried out [word indistinct].

[Correspondent] You know, Leonid Makarovych, I formed this impression about one of the slogans of the Rostov Oblast miners. They were using the term, the notion, of a Russian Donbass. They were on strike as well and called this region Russian Donbass. In the first place, though, they stressed [word indistinct] problems.

[Kravchuk] Certainly.

[Correspondent] You have already started saying that you discussed ways of looking for some solutions for these problems during a meeting with Chernomyrdin. Indeed, things in Russia are not that good, and they have the same problems as we have here.

[Kravchuk] Certainly. Moreover, there are the same problems for the Rostov region as there are here. However, Viktor Stepanovich said that they already have an official plan for gradually closing down 56 mines in Russia. The thing here is also that there is a village or a town, he says. The town is built around two mines. One mine works and generates profit, and the other one only brings losses. There are now many places with open-pit coal mining being discovered in Russia. There is a three-, four-, or five-meter deep layer of coke. Coal there is extracted using excavators. Why should they go one or more kilometers underground? We do not have such thing. We have to support Donbass. We will support it.

Newspapers reported yesterday—I am simply referring to them—that another mine has been opened in Donetsk Oblast, a fairly productive one. So we cannot leave

Donbass. It is clear that we will be opening new mines, and it is clear that those that have been exhausted, where there is neither stratum nor coal there and it is very deep, will have to be decommissioned. We will not manage, however, without Donbass and without coal. Therefore, there are common problems (?in these) regions.

You know Russia has deposits in a slightly different way. Russia has deposits of oil and gas, and they have a different potential from ours. Here, again unfortunately, gas bore holes have been opened in Poltava Oblast recently (?and I am also pleased) to say this. It is not a solution of the issue on such a scale.

[Words indistinct] with Russia (?which) is prepared to sign documents connected to supplying Ukraine with oil, gas, energy resources, and other documents. [Word indistinct] we decided to provide the widest way to mutual [word indistinct] technological processes between Ukrainian and Russian enterprises. Other economic documents will be signed [words indistinct]. I stand for having the closest union with Russia in the sphere of economic relations of enterprises—not a union as some amorphous formula, but a union of a plant with a plant, a collective with a collective, and frontier zones. For example, in Kharkov, it seems to me, 10 oblasts are gathering on the 28th—both Ukrainian and Russian ones. They will discuss the issue of the frontier zones regime [passage indistinct].

I asked Viktor Stepanovich to come a long time ago [words indistinct] common interests of these oblasts. Maybe they will sign some document about assistance from Ukraine and Russia to oblasts in the frontier regions. Gradually, we have to reach a level of normal economic, political, and other relations because, you know, it started. That is, some things were ruined. It is always like this. Then one has to establish—I stress again—when I am told that all contacts have been broken. I cannot agree that all contacts will exist. Only those contacts that are effective and necessary both for Ukraine and Russia will exist.

We cannot dictate to Russia. Russia has its own interests. We must become close so that Russian and Ukrainian interests will agree and so the interests of Russian and Ukrainian enterprises will agree from the point of view of the effectiveness of these contacts, the employment of people, and the provision of normal life for people. That is the only issue here.

[Correspondent] Recently the trade unions have been playing quite a serious role [word indistinct] our domestic life. What is your view of relations between the trade unions and the executive authority?

[Kravchuk] It is necessary to work with the trade unions, to work in a normal way. They do exist. They are called on to defend people's interests. This is why they exist, and I cannot be offended, as some people are, because they defend people's interests. It is not by chance that I set up a council. What is it called? The national...

[Correspondent, interrupting] The National Council of Social Partnership.

[Kravchuk continues]...partnership. We have already held meetings, it seems to me on the 14th, yes, on the 14th we held a meeting with the leaders of the trade union organizations and agreed that we shall maintain such relations all the time. Yesterday I signed an instruction by which I entrusted the governmental commission to hold consultations with trade unions on a regular basis. In other words, to interact and involve them when decisions are made, especially decisions dealing with the social sphere. In any case, they should participate and express their stand. One should not simply listen to them but actively involve them in mutual activities within the governmental commissions and structures so as to work out joint decisions.

I understand that not all of them will be able to support these decisions. I cannot agree with the thesis that if today the food basket—or, what is it called? The most necessary things for an individual—conventionally amounts to 40,000 karbovantsi, 40,000, then the minimum wage should be 40,000 karbovantsi. It is necessary to look at what we can put in this basket today. Do we have resources enough to give 40,000 karbovantsi to everyone so that everyone can buy this basket? I say we do not. If we do what the trade unions propose to do, then 61 trillion karbovantsi will be put into circulation.

As far goods are concerned, today we have them totalling 20 trillion [karbovantsi]; services and goods to the sum of 20 trillion. And there will be 61 trillion karbovantsi in circulation. Will the basket increase as a result of this? Not at all. The talk is about something else. For example, I am an adherent of, taking into account this difficult situation, going over to monetary vouchers for those people on low incomes. For example, these people know that this is for bread, butter, sausages, or whatever. These are invalids, people with large families for example, people on low wages, and so on. He knows this, that this is not simply a card, but a monetary voucher. He comes into a shop, hands over this monetary voucher, and (?there's your money). Only those on low incomes receive it. If you have wages of 100,000 karbovantsi, then you do not receive the voucher, but if, for example, you have wages of, say, 15 [words indistinct] thousand, then you receive it, and a set of certain goods is guaranteed to you.

That is, today, when there are no goods, one cannot again distribute wage increases to everyone. Because the wages of those who already have high wages are increasing today, too. Then he who already has higher wages will receive even higher wages. And he who buys more today, will buy even more. And he who does not have it, will not buy anything. I am speaking about this moment of time. And the government is now working on this.

Other forms of such an immediate action of ours with the trade unions, which would guarantee that a minimum of goods, of products, would be received to provide for life, especially those categories who are the most vulnerable today. That is, one cannot simply talk or call on people and say: Look, they have caused this, look, there is nothing, and everyone is a beggar. Well, one may declare slogans. One can do everything. Everyone knew that the construction of a state is not a simple matter nor an easy one. And all adults knew this. No one deceived anyone else. And no one was promised rivers of milk.

Now we have ended up in this situation, and we need to get out of it together. If there is going to be opposition again of some against others, then some will push people toward strikes. Some will blame others. Others will be, well, all right.

Today there is a government, there is a president, there is a Supreme Council. It is said that they are no good. One can agree with this. One may elect again. They were elected again—I am giving an elementary demonstration. If we have goods worth 20 trillion [karbovantsi] today, then tomorrow what? Will there be 40 trillion worth, if they are needed? No, there will not be!.

This means, one should therefore define one's stance on policies, define one's strategy, and work jointly all together, work together in order to get out of that situation. Incidentally, it is catastrophic not only in Ukraine today. This cannot sadden or gladden us, but a fact is a fact: we have one (?line). If we get out of this together, by work, by mutual understanding, by support, by initiative, by removing obstacles, by various prohibitions...[incomplete sentence as heard].

Well, yesterday the prime minister said that we have 1,400 unfinished facilities—1,400! Why not give them away? Someone could buy them and complete the construction. It seems to me that this is better than not giving them to anyone, saying: I don't use it and neither can anyone else, let it be wasted, but you see I won't give it to anyone else.

People often refer to China. In China, you see, they came to freedom in a different way. They give people back the possibility of working, investing. I want to say, I have been to China and seen this. This is true. But such issues are not decided at a China-wide assembly. The mayor of the city decides all of this.

Here, in order to allocate land, one has to go to the Supreme Council or to the local council, which begins to talk, which begins to discuss, but the affair stands still. But in China, in Shanghai, for example, the mayor of Shanghai decides who to give it to. I ask: How long does it take to register a foreign enterprise? He says: It depends, say two weeks. Well, that is, he does this himself.

There is not only the wish but there are instruments that allow a person to work and not go round in circles regarding who will decide today, will it be this administration or the local council. Let one person decide. I have nothing against the local council deciding as long as it does decide, (?and not make the situation worse).

So, it is a time when one needs to act informally. Decisions should be bold and resolute. And if everyone sees that they are needed, then one should adopt them and not talk and argue about whether politicians are to blame or whether the opposition is to blame or whether the nonopposition is to blame the opposition.

Incidentally, I am often told about the opposition, about the opposition [words indistinct] We did not have an opposition and do not have one. We do not have one, (?in fact) we do not. Because when examples are produced for me in some other country, then I say this: In this country the parliament has one aim but the opposition only speaks about the ways and means of reaching that same aim. The opposition does not have a different aim. Our parliament has several aims. So who is in opposition? And what kind of....[pauses] The issue is not how to go toward the aim but the issue is about diametrically opposed aims.

Until we come together and in the end define one aim, one policy, (?well, let them determine it) and then the executive authority will go toward this aim, but this way it is one thing today and another thing tomorrow. We lose so much this way, but when the talk is about political issues, then it is difficult to resolve them. That is, we should cooperate on this. And in the end, if someone has a good plan for getting out of the crisis and the legislative body adopts it, then I will be behind it. And if it is good, I am interested in things being better than they were.

Kuchma Discusses Agricultural Problems in Odessa

LD2606115993 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1315 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Vernodubenko]

[Text] Odessa, 25 Jun—The working visit by Leonid Kuchma, who arrived at the oblast center this morning, began with a visit to the Odessa poultry plant and farms in the "Victory" state farm complex, the genetic selection institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Agrarian Sciences.

"We have come here 10 days before the beginning of the gathering of the harvest," Leonid Kuchma told an UKRINFORM correspondent, "to remove existing imperfections together, to correct the situation, and to support the workers who are to harvest that which has been cultivated with hard work. I will name the three main problems: The first is to give rural areas credits on purchases for the future harvest; that is, to allocate money on specific matters. The second is to provide farms with fuel and lubricants. I think that this problem can be resolved, taking into account our meeting yesterday with Viktor Chernomyrdin. The quantity of oil that we will receive is sufficient to gather the harvest. The third problem is to work out the issue of delivering spare parts for agricultural machinery. I emphasize that it is necessary to resolve these three problems now, in the next 10 days. We will then have a clean conscience before the rural residents. He will give the state that which he has cultivated if we elaborate a sensible mechanism for paying for the harvest, taking inflation into account.

The prime minister left for Odessa and Vinnitsa oblasts to hold [word indistinct] working meetings. In Odessa there will be a meeting with representatives of the president in the southern and eastern oblasts, chairpersons of oblast councils, rural workers, and leaders of the agroindustrial complex. In Vinnitsa tomorrow the prime minister will meet representatives and workers of the central and eastern oblasts.

Meets Local Leaders, Farm Officials

LD2606220493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Life itself requires such meetings with peasants, said Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma at the Chapayev collective agricultural enterprise in Vinnitsa rayon where he arrived today from Odessa. The talk was about fuel, spare parts, mineral fertilizer, and prices. It cannot be considered as normal, the collective farmers were saying, that only about 15 million karbovantsi out of the 209 million karbovantsi that we earned were used to buy machinery, pedigree cattle, i.e. for extended reproduction. Virtually all the profit was eaten up by fuel. It is necessary to produce four tanks of milk to buy one tank of petrol. Under such conditions enterprises cease to see any prospects and they can just go bankrupt.

Therefore, today, at the meeting with the head of government, the leaders of the ministries and departments and leaders of the agroindustrial complex of the central and western oblasts, just as at yesterday's meeting in Odessa with the leaders of 12 oblasts and the Republic of Crimea, discussed ways for the countryside to survive. Only new economic concepts can interest a commodity producer. In particular, a new mechanism of price formation has been offered, that envisages three variants of payments for the purchased grain. There are no ready-made formulas of getting out of the crisis.

The way out of the tough situation should be looked for through a concerted effort, Leonid Kuchma underlined at the meeting. The harvest in the fields is not bad. It is envisaged that the required amount of fuel will be allocated to peasants from state resources, and help provided for the supply of spare parts is concerned. There is certainty, said the prime minister, that the harvest will be gathered in, but it is necessary that peasants believe that the state will not let them down anymore.

Kuchma Said Gaining in Struggle With Kravchuk

MK2506112293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 28, 25 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 24 Jun) p 4

[Stepan Chuprina commentary under "Ukraine" rubric: "Crisis of Power—Crisis of Confidence"]

[Text] The strange games of the Ukrainian authorities appear to be annoying not just the coal miners. Judging by the latest sociological polls, the level of trust not only in the Supreme Council but also in the president has fallen catastrophically—more than half the respondents do not trust either the people's representatives or Leonid Kravchuk. The Cabinet of Ministers' standing has not fallen that sharply in the public eye, but even here 44 percent of respondents absolutely do not trust the government.

In spite of the various maneuvers and tricks by officials, their main problem appears fairly prosaic—who will win? The Ukrainian situation differs from Russia's primarily in that the ongoing struggle is not only between the president and the Supreme Soviet. A third force is also involved—the Cabinet of Ministers, supported by a very influential part of the enterprise director corps. The president's suspension of his edict following extremely harsh criticism by the premier suggests that Kravchuk is yielding his positions to Kuchma. This is also corroborated by the fairly unexpected recent appointment as first premier of Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, former mayor of Donetsk and former director of the richest Zasyadko mine, which never before took part in strikes but has now become the initiator of unrest. There are rumors about another upcoming appointment to the post of prime minister of yet another industry mogul—Valentin Landik, general director of the joint stock company NORD. In addition, there is also such a factor as the coal miners strike, which, although officially stopped, in fact still continues.

All this is happening in the context of war between various structures and vicious rivalry for control over the coal industry, the metals and chemical industries, and exports. Some extremely high-placed and influential persons are involved here. In particular, aside from the promotion of enterprise directors, observers note the recent resignation by former presidential adviser Yemelyanov, who is one of the bosses of the UKRAINA joint stock group, a monopoly in the sphere of metallurgical and chemical exports—or rather used to be, since a criminal case has been opened against the group.

Against the backdrop of scandals, galloping inflation, an upcoming referendum, and other blessings, the chances of leftists, pinks, and plain communists do not appear too bad. The open demagoguery coming from the Supreme Soviet's rostrums is evoking an active response in the hearts of those who are hungry for simple and comprehensible ideas. Judging by the polls, however, hardly anyone wants to see the Communist Party return to the helm or merely to the political arena.

Strikes Continue in Southeastern Towns

LD2606120393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] There are still strike hotbeds in the industrial oblasts of southeastern Ukraine. There has been a one-day warning strike in Kharkov, and workers at the carriage repair plant in Popasnaya station in Lugansk Oblast are on strike. The leaders of the strike are still the miners of Lugansk Oblast and the town of Pavlograd, which is in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. In all, approximately 40 out of 250 Ukrainian mines are currently on strike.

Western Miners Call For Strike

WS2806091493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] According to the press service of the Independent Trade Union of Miners [NPH], on 25 June a joint session of the Chervonohrad strike committee and the NPH adopted a decision to support the striking regions and hold a 24-hour warning strike on 28 June.

Morozov Directive Against Politicizing Army

LD2506141393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry issued the following report on 24 June. In today's tense sociopolitical realities in Ukraine, certain forces are endeavoring to draw the national Armed Forces, particularly the officer corps, into a political struggle.

(?Graphic) proof of this was the rally of servicemen organized on Independence Square in Kiev on 15 June by Reserve Colonel Slyusarev. He and his adherents endeavored to gain political authority for themselves by this action. Evidently, they needed the rally more to invigorate work on setting up trade unions of servicemen and for propaganda for this organization, not for realistically resolving the problems of improving the social situation of servicemen. The events of the rally directly confirm that in the event of the said trade unions being set up, their politicization is inevitable.

In order not to allow the politicization of the Armed Forces, Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov has issued a directive. In accordance with the directive, officials and military commanders should use resolute measures in order to put an end to attempts to draw servicemen into a political struggle. Those who still contribute to the process of politicization of the Army or who make such attempts, in accordance with the directive, will be disciplined, even including release from the ranks of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, emphasizes the report of the press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

Workshop on Building Air Force Ends in Nikolayev

LD2706023693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] A two-day scientific workshop on topical issues regarding building Ukraine's Air Force is coming to an end today in Nikolayev, according to the press center of the Defense Ministry. Air Force leaders, the air formations command, and antiaircraft defense and military units are participating. A single understanding by the Air Force leadership and the antiaircraft troops is being worked out, as well as optimal trends to develop a new type of Ukrainian Armed Forces and the structure, distribution, and numerical strength of such troops.

Defense Minister Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov and Col. Gen. Anatoliy Lopata, chief of the general staff of our country's Armed Forces, took part in the work of the conference and spoke at it.

Commission Discusses Defense Industry Issues

LD2606223693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] The Supreme Council Commission on Issues of Defense and State Security has held an outside meeting in the Dnieper region. Discussed were issues of transferring the military and defense industry of the former Union to solving the tasks facing sovereign Ukraine. The basis of the draft future state program of long-term development of the capacities of the former Union defense industry on Ukraine's territory has already been mapped out.

Parties Want Kravchuk To Convene Constitutional Assembly

LD2506141193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The political parties that initiated the creation of a national constitutional committee have sent a joint appeal to President Leonid Kravchuk. They are suggesting that he come out with an initiative to put the issue of convening a constituent constitutional assembly on the all-Ukrainian referendum on 26 September. It would also be important for the president to call a conference of representatives from the parties supporting this initiative and all other political movements. This assembly, the appeal stresses, should focus on the discussion of the mechanism for adopting the new constitution of Ukraine.

Democratic Party Supports Early Elections, President

LD2506192293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The Presidium of Ukraine's Democratic Party has declared its view on the causes of the present economic and political crisis in our state. Among these it lists the inability of the power structures to carry out in-depth reforms, the powerlessness of executive authorities, as well as the fact that the amended Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which consolidates the system of councils, continues to be in force in Ukraine.

In the Presidium's opinion, the functionaries of the former Communist Party of Ukraine remain in the councils and in the president's administration, having created an unofficial power of power.

This party, the Democrats believe, is straining every effort to delay the necessary reforms. This is why the Democratic Party supports the demands for early council elections at all levels and regards the president of Ukraine as the only legitimate authority. It also stands for a new electoral law and for the convocation of a specially formed body to adopt the new constitution.

Outlining its stand on nuclear arms in Ukraine, the Democratic Party stands for, among other things, the reduction in their numbers. In the Democrats' opinion, Ukraine must postpone its accession to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty until 1995, when the treaty will be reviewed by the world community.

Crimea Seeking To Establish 'Open Economic Regime'

PM2506102193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Semena report: "Special Economic Regime Being Formed in Crimea"]

[Text] Simferopol—The Crimean Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on an open economy regime.

The idea submitted for parliament's consideration was to form not a free economic zone (for this a special decision of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet would need to be adopted) but a so-called open economic regime, making it possible to utilize effectively the Crimea's tourist and recreational potential.

The essence of the idea consists of, first, reforming the credit and banking system by creating a Central Bank of Crimea that would fulfill the National Bank of Ukraine 's function on the peninsula's territory (with the exception of money emission), would open accounts at CIS countries' banks to enable the Crimea to receive credits, would register commercial banks and issue licenses to them, and would issue republic securities. Second, the creation of a Crimean interbank foreign currency exchange was envisaged, which would create the conditions for the free circulation of currencies. In parallel, the Crimea must switch to a one-channel tax system in forming its own budget, to subordinating the tax inspectorate to the Crimean Council of Ministers Financial Administration, and to creating its own Main Customs Administration that would facilitate foreign investment, the import of goods, and the accelerated development of a market infrastructure.

Parliament adopted a decree on implementing a free [as published] economic regime and gave the Council of Ministers 10 days to elaborate the statutes of a Crimean Bank and Customs Administration and one month to elaborate draft laws on the budget system, taxation, and foreign investment. The Crimean parliament appealed to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, requesting that an edict on a free economy in the Crimean autonomous entity be issued.

Vice Premier Chairs Conference on Construction Industry

LD2606195193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] A conference on issues of the country's building complex activity has been held under the chairmanship of Ukraine's Vice Premier Yevtukhov. It was discussing possibilities of normalizing the financial situation of contract organizations and enterprises of the building industry, improving material incentives to builders, and finding additional money for housing construction. The fulfillment of the construction work within the framework of the Chernobyl program was considered. The conference participants defined concrete ways of stabilizing the state of affairs within the building complex of Ukraine.

Belarus

Redeploying Air Force Regiment to Russia Planned

WS2806095893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] A planned redeployment of the Russian Air Force regiment from Lida was delayed because of the protests of servicemen's families who have the right to obtain Belarusian citizenship and do not want to leave the motherland. As we have learned, this complicated issue has at last been resolved. Housing construction for servicemen who retire and have the right to obtain Belarusian citizenship will be financed in equal parts by Russia and Belarus. Similar situations could occur in other military cantonments. Therefore, the Russian and Belarusian Defense Ministries are charged with adopting corresponding decisions.

Bank Considers Accepting Ruble as Only Currency

LD2606162593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By correspondent Lyudmila Vilyuga; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Vilyuga] Russia's recent closure of the 15 billion ruble credit line has complicated the financial position of Belarus, which is already in enough debt to its neighbor. Just over a week ago, the Russian Central Bank sent a telegram reflecting the obvious intention to dot all the i's regarding money relations with Belarus. If the Republic of Belarus does not sign before 1 July, an agreement recognizing the Russian ruble as the only legal tender, not a single unit of cash will come from Russia.

[S. Bogdankevich, chairman of the board of the National Bank of Belarus] We are prepared to keep the ruble as legal tender, though not on the condition of the republic's total subjection to Russia, to the Russian Central Bank, but on the condition of the transfer of emission functions to the Interstate Bank of the Commonwealth that is being created. We are prepared to have a currency in common with Russia on the basis of equality.

[Vilyuga] The Belarusian Government also thinks that a single ruble zone implies a rejection of bilateral clearing and export-import duties. If there is a negative reaction to the compromise version, Belarus will clearly decide on the introduction of an internal currency.

Social Democrats Criticize Defense Ministry Actions

WS2806070193 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 17 Jun 93 p 1

[Report by BELAPAN correspondent Ales Androsaw: "Social Democrats Claim the Law on Status of Servicemen Can Be Interpreted Any Way"]

[Text] The Central Council of the Social Democratic Association [SDA] has formulated its position on the state of affairs in the Armed Forces of Belarus. An adopted resolution states that national defense requires that the patriotic Armed Forces respect the sovereign rights of their motherland, whose activities correspond to the moral norms of a civilized state. According to the Central Council of the Social Democratic Association, the situation in the Army causes serious anxiety.

"The Defense Ministry is constantly leveling accusations against the social-patriotic organization Belarusian Association of Servicemen [BAS]." The ministry is threatening dismissals. Many BAS members have already been dismissed either without any cause or on trumped up charges."

Among those who were dismissed is Colonel Uladzimir Savyanok who actively participated in the investigation of corruption cases in the Army leadership. On 7 May, Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Statkevich, who had never before been reprimanded, was transferred to the reserves with the citation: "for discrediting the high rank of an officer."

In the opinion of the SDA Central Council, antinational propaganda is being carried out quite openly. The radical representatives of the Russian opposition, along with the adherents of the revival of the USSR or Russian Empire, deliver reports in the Belarusian Armed Forces. Such political associations as "Slavic Assembly" and "Union of Officers," which are components of the political organization "People's Movement in Belarus," participate actively in the Army. Servicemen who deny the national sovereignty of Belarus and do not respect its statehood are openly exposing their views and taking part in demonstrations under the former USSR or Russian Empire banners while the Defense Ministry maintains its silence.

Despite the ban on political activities, soldiers who are also Supreme Soviet deputies have not resigned from office. Neither the Defense Ministry nor the organs that are authorized to control the implementation of the laws have failed to notice these facts.

In order to avoid any misinterpretations of the law, the SDA Central Council has proposed including in the Law "On Statute of Servicemen" a specific citation of the forms of political activities which are off limits to servicemen.

Moldova

Talks With Russia on Troop Withdrawal 'Successful'

MK2606113693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 3

[Natalya Prikhodko report under "Moldova" rubric: "Withdrawal of 14th Army Agreed, But Term Is Unknown"]

[Excerpts] The sixth round of Russian-Moldovan talks in Chisinau on the status, procedures, and terms for the pullout of the 14th Russian Army could be described as successful. The sides coordinated questions of jurisdiction and legal assistance in matters pertaining to the presence of the Russian Federation's army in Moldova; on Moldova's participation in the construction of service, social, and utility installations to ensure the withdrawal of Russian formations from its territory; and also problems bearing on particular military units. The text of the basic agreement was approved on the whole, with the exception of Article 2, which defines the term for the withdrawal. Without this, however, the document has no practical meaning.

According to Anatol Tsaranu, Moldova's ambassador to Russia, who heads the Moldovan delegation, the disagreements over this article are not due to fundamental contradictions in the positions of the sides but to methodological differences in their approaches. Without contesting the principle of a political settlement of the Dniester conflict being synchronized with the pullout of the Russian army, the Moldovan side would still like to fix the date for a final withdrawal—1 July 1994. Otherwise, Tsaranu stressed, both processes, unlimited by any time frame, would drag on forever. [passage omitted]

So far, in his opinion, the Russian leadership, while declaring itself in favor of Moldova's integrity and a speedy settlement of the conflict, in fact often supports the Tiraspol leaders. Thus, for example, a number of installations on the 14th Army's airfield located in Tiraspol have been transferred to the Dniester region without coordination with the Moldovan side and contrary to the joint agreements. This and a whole number of other facts do not make it possible to regard the 14th Army as neutral. Therefore, Moldova insists on its unconditional withdrawal [passage omitted].

Naturally, the Moldovan Republic has deemed as unacceptable Boris Yeltsin's supposition made at a recent conference in the Defense Ministry about the possibility of creating Russian military bases on the territories of former Union republics. Without waiting until this idea is formulated in an official proposal, Moldovan Deputy Foreign Minister Ion Chubuk explained, the Moldovan Foreign Ministry sent a note to Moscow demanding an unconditional withdrawal of Russian formations.

The Russian representatives, however, pointed out that the local public had no cause to worry. The proposal made by the president did not apply to the 14th Army. Many refuse to note, Russian Ambassador to Moldova Vladimir Plechko added, that in fact the withdrawal of Russian troops has already begun. The 300th Paratroopers Regiment has been pulled out of Chisinau, the 2d Pontoon Regiment has been moved from Bendery, and so forth, which testifies to the consistency of the Russian position.

The delegations of the two countries are called upon to formalize this de jure, providing a requisite legal mechanism, Vladimir Kitayev, special envoy and head of the Russian delegation, explained. [passage omitted]

Whether the existing situation can be resolved at all will become clear during the seventh round of negotiations due to be held in Moscow at the end of August or in early September. It is expected to produce a wording of Article 2 that would accommodate both sides.

Groups To Discuss Unresolved Issues

AU2806103993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2115 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 24/6/1993—During the sixth round of negotiations between the state delegations of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation concerning the juridical statue conditions and terms of withdrawal of the Russian military structures and coordination, all the articles of the decree had been brought to an end, except the second one, which involves periods of retreating, stated a communique of all the participants. "The negotiations were quite tough but constructive at the same time. The delegation of Moldova expressed more clearly its position concerning unconditional and urgent withdrawal of the 14th [CIS] Army," declared Nicolae Turtureanu, the chief of the Department of Military Politics of the Ministry of Defense of Moldova. The delegation of Moldova launched once more the suggestion that the 14th Army be withdrawn by the 1 July 1994, which faced no attitude from the Russian side. Before the next round of talks, fixed around August to the beginning of September 1993, the expert groups will consider the terms of transfer of the battalion located in Varnita and of the Benderian plant for repair of military equipment under Moldovan jurisdiction and will prepare agreement about transportation of the 14th Army's military property by rail. The sixth round of talks was also attended by a Tiraspolian delegation led by General Anatoliy Kurchin, counselor on military issues of the Dniestrian President. The delegation from Russia rejected Moldova's suggestion about taking part as an observer of the head of the CSCE mission in Moldova, Timothy Williams. During the seventh round, which will take place in Moscow, it is expected to settle the periods for withdrawal of Russian military units, temporarily dislocated in the territory of Moldova, added Nicolae Turtureanu.

Adviser Views Moscow 'Lobby Groups'

AU2806104193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2115 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 24/6/1993—"To make withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army from the territory of Moldova dependent on granting the Dniester Republic a special status is a policy of dictation from the standpoint of the standards of international law. It is equal to employment of military forces with political goals in view," stated Nicolae Chirtoaca, the chief counselor of the president on military issues in his interview to the newspaper OASTEA MOLDOVEI [MOLDOVA'S FORCES]. Making reference to Moscow lobby groups, more or less concerned over the Dniester events, Chirtoaca stressed that the so-called "majestic-conservative" powers in Moscow see Russia as a superpower supervising over strategic territory of the former USSR. "They do everything they can using nothing but destabilizing methods in order to retain abroad at least their military contingent," the counselor voiced his opinion. "Another grouping is represented by the red-brown, communist-fascist opposition which employs military conflicts like the one in Moldova and Abkhazia to intrigue against democratic groups," asserted Chirtoaca. He added that "in the middle take place democratic-center groupings of the type of Kozyrev and President Yeltsin with his team." From the point of view of the counselor "if we manage to balance these three groupings, we will become more flexible and consistent in our activities aimed to normalize situation in the country."

Hungarian Delegation Seeks Expanded Ties

LD2506210093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1808 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau June 25 TASS—Although the visit by the Hungarian parliamentary delegation to Moldova was of a fact-finding character, it is certainly to give an impetus to the expansion of ties between the two states, Hungarian parliament chairman Gyorgy Szabad told reporters on Friday.

Summing up the results of the visit, he said an agreement on exchange of lawmaking experience had been reached during the meetings with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and parliament speaker Petr Luchinskiy.

The Hungarian parliament chief also reported that the preparation of a long-term agreement on friendship and cooperation was coming to an end. The agreement is to regulate relations between the two states.

Envoy Promises Romania's Support for 'Economic Integration'

AU2506195493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES 25/6/1993—"Starting from the reality of existence of two independent Romanian states and from the current political context in which they develop, Romania backs the efforts of the Republic of Moldova for the defence and consolidation of its sovereignty," said in Chisinau Marian Enache, on presenting his credentials as Romania's ambassador to the Republic of Moldova. "Romania firmly works for speeding up the economic integration and consolidating the common cultural and spiritual space, fundamental targets that are shared today in Bucharest and Chisinau alike," Ambassador Enache added.

Tiraspol Leader Calls For Federalizing Republic

AU2806102393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2115 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Comrat BASAPRESS, 24/6/1993—In an interview to the Gagauzian language newspaper HABERLAR, an organ of the Supreme Soviet of the self-proclaimed Gagauzian Republic, Ana Volkova, the vice president of the Supreme Soviet in Tiraspol, launched the idea that the only way to improve the social-political situation in Moldova is the federalization of the republic. "Working out a firm line towards federalization, we have made a considerable step forward in establishing relations with Moldova. We suggested to share to some extent our statehood, for which our people voted during the referendum," declared the quoted source. Volkova has also stressed that Moldova's Parliament showed its inability to fairly solve the Gagauzian problem, which would have been welcomed by everybody.

Kazakhstan

Foreign Ministry Expresses 'Concern' Over Azerbaijan

LD2606095793 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The republican Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement which expresses concern over the latest developments in the internal political situation in Azerbaijan. Kazakhstan has repeatedly expressed its negative attitude toward any kind of activities that lead to the destabilization of the situation and civil opposition in society, the document says. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs finds them unacceptable from the point of view of common rights and humane considerations, no matter who initiates them and no matter how they justify them. The document expresses the hope that the internal political situation in Azerbaijan will get back to normal on the basis of the Constitution of the country.

Deputy Prime Ministers Assigned Duties

LD2506200293 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has partially reorganized duties of leaders of the Cabinet of Ministers in connection with new appointments of deputy prime ministers.

Deputy Prime Minister Syzdyk Abishev is vested with authority to coordinate activities of ministries, departments, other bodies of state management and the local administrations in terms of controlling their foreign economic relations.

Deputy Prime Minister Asygat Zhabagin is responsible for the general and operational matters of state management, and issues of material production, transport, communication, activities of ministries in terms of ensuring energy [word indistinct] and organizing the production of consumer goods.

Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Kulagin is charged with supervising branches of the agro-industrial complex and food supplies to the population.

Yezhikov Babakhanov, the head of the Main Control Inspectorate under the president, is temporalily assigned responsibility to coordinate state investment policy and to tackle operational issues connected with capital construction in the republic.

Nazarbayev Issues Decree on Bank Regulations

LD2506210893 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Decree issued by President Nursultan Nazarbayev; place and date issued not given]

[Text] With the aim of regulating the use of state property, I decree:

1. to transform the joint stock, commercial banks Turanbank, Credsotsbank, Alem Bank Kazakhstan, Kazagprombank, and Kazsberbank into joint stock enterprises and to transfer rights of disposal to the state block of shares to the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, represented by the State Committee for State Property.

2. to entrust the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Finance Ministry of the Republic of Kazakhstan to carry out within three months individual reregistration of all joint stock, commercial, and cooperative banks with the aim of identifying the share of state funds in their authorized funds and to submit th information to the State Committee for State Property.

3. The State Committee for State Property should relegate to the Finance Ministry of the Republic of Kazakhstan right to control the state block of shares of banks with the aim of [word indistinct] a common credit and financial policy.

4. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan should define the procedure for financial and credit support to enterprises and organizations that fulfill state programs and special purpose programs.

5. The State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan, while evaluating the property of privatized enterprises that have transferred funds to the bank's deposit accounts, should assess the abovementioned sums by using the coefficient factor, equal to the interest rates of banks.

6. The State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Finance Ministry of the Republic of Kazakhstan should prepare and submit for examination by the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan proposals on withdrawing into the budget revenue the dividends that have been accumulated by the former joint stock, commercial, and cooperative banks through the use of budget funds.

[Signed] Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Statute on Use of Privatization Housing Coupons Endorsed

LD2506195693 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1400 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] In accordance with President Nursultan Nazarbayev's decree on speeding up privatization of the state housing fund in the republic, a statute has been endorsed on using privatization housing coupons and putting it into operation from 1 June. Heads of local administrations are charged with the duty to complete calculation of housing coupons for the citizens of the republic before the end of the year 1993 and to speed up work on privatization of the state fund and in proper time to consider citizens applications.

Tajikistan

Assembly Ratifies Treaty With Russia, Other Documents

LD2606084293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0809 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By Khovar agency correspondents Valeriy Shukov and Mukhiddin Umarov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe June 26 TASS—The Tajik parliament, working in a festive atmosphere, ratified on Saturday [26 June] the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Tajikistan and Russia, which was signed by Tajik and Russian leaders Imamali Rakhmanov and Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on May 25, 1993.

The republican parliament also ratified the treaty of cooperation between the two countries in the military sphere and agreements on the legal status of Russian border troops and military units deployed in Tajikistan as well as their financing.

The legislature ratified a protocol on setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States and a package of agreements regulating relations between them.

The U.N. convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women was also ratified.

The ratification of the above documents has become possible after the legislature adopted "The Law on the Order of Concluding, Ratifying, Executing and Denouncing International Treaties of the Republic of Tajikistan" at the current session.

The law notes that "the Republic of Tajikistan, loyal to the principle of mandatory observation of each international treaty by its participants, undeviatingly and voluntarily fulfils its international obligations".

Assembly Revokes Presidium Decision on Nabiyev Resignation

LD2606105493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0955 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By TIA Khovar correspondents Valeriy Zhukov and Mukhiddin Umarov]

[Text] Dushanbe, 26 Jun—The Tajikistan parliament today revoked the decision of the Presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, dated 7 September 1992, "On the statement made by Rakhmon Nabiyev, president of the Republic of Tajikistan, and his resignation."

The document adopted by the parliament notes that the statement made by Rakhmon Nabiyev about his resignation was made under pressure. The Presidium, in its turn, exceeded its powers and violated Article 123 of the Republic's Constitution by accepting his resignation and appointing Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Chairman Akbarsho Iskandarov to carry out the presidential functions.

Since Iskandarov's activities as acting president of the Republic are now deemed illegal, the session also adopted a decision on revoking all his decrees.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Statement on Afghanistan

LD2706104193 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Monitored in progress]

[Text] ...they started examining the question of ratifying the international agreements of the Republic of Tajikistan. [passage indistinct] The Supreme Soviet confirmed the appointment of Mirzoyev as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers at the suggestion of Abdulmalik Abdullodzhanov, chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers.

Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, delivered a long speech at the session. On the basis of Rakhmanov's speech, the Supreme Soviet adopted a decree. The participants of the session adopted the address of the Tajik Supreme Soviet to the leaders and the people of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. With this the 17th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan of the 12th convocation ended its work.

Russian Soldier Killed on Tajik-Afghan Border

LD2406201893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1349 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 Jun—Armed provocations on the Tajik-Afghan border are still going on. According to information from the border troops command of the Russian Federation, this morning an armed group of Tajik militants amounting to 30 people tried to cross the Tajik state border from the Islamic state of Afghanistan in the area of Post 11 of the Moscow border detachment. The intrusion was covered by gunfire from the neighboring state.

During the fighting the group was eliminated and the remaining militants ran away. The Russian border guards also suppressed the firing points on the other side. Unfortunately, there were casualties among the Russian border guards. One Russian serviceman was killed during the operation.

Russian Division Protests 24 Jun Attack Near Roguna

LD2606121693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0312 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 26 Jun—The command of the Russian 201st Motorized Infantry Division has made a decisive protest against continuing attacks. As an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told on Friday evening, on 24 June an unidentified armed group shot at an armored group of Russian troops accompanying a food column near the town of Roguna. A Russian officer was seriously wounded in the shooting. The division command notes that if such attacks are repeated, the most decisive measures will be taken to ensure the safety of servicemen. Russian troops are not interfering in the internal political conflict in Tajikistan and, in agreement with the Republic's leadership, are carrying out purely peacekeeping functions here, noted Colonel Anatoliy Ivlev, deputy commander of the 201st Russian Motorized Infantry Division.

Interior Minister Discounts Opposition Rumors

LD2506140193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1312 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe June 25 TASS—Tajik Interior Minister Yakubdzhon Salimov said that rumours about the concentration of large armed opposition forces in pamir mountain areas and their supposed plans of revenge are "fantastic."

In an interview with ITAR-TASS the minister noted that these rumours are being spread by the opponents themselves in order to "raise their prestige." The truth is that a small group under field commander Rizvon is active in these mountains. At present this group is surrounded from all sides by government forces and does not present any real threat to the republic's security.

"The government forces could abolish this group several months ago. But the militants, as a rule, stayed near populated areas, and there is no guarantee that local residents will not suffer during military operations," Yakub Salimov noted.

"Tajik authorities do not intend to tolerate the presence of this hotbed of tension on the republic's territory any more. Rizvon and his accomplices must surrender their arms and stop further resistance, otherwise they will be liquidated," the minister added.

Local observers have assessed the capabilities of the authorities to finish off the remaining hotbeds of armed opposition with a fair amount of scepticism. During the past few months several statements were made at an official level. But the Rizvon group is not only thriving, but it is also being reinforced by new militants who are being forced out by Gorny Badakhshan self-defence detachments on to the territory of central Tajikistan.

Abdullodzhanov on Agricultural Reform To Boost Economy

LD2506133693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0914 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By KHOVAR agency correspondent Negmat Ochilov and ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe June 25 TASS—No progress in the national economy is possible to achieve without speeding up reforms in agriculture, Tajik Premier Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov said here on Friday [25 June]. The national parliament mapped out the main guidelines for the development of agriculture at today's session.

The legislature adopted a decision on the main guidelines in the monetary-credit policy for 1993. This policy should be "based on the provisions of the Tashkent and Bishkek agreements on a common policy of the Commonwealth of Independent States in money turnover and crediting of the national economy. It should be also based on aid to strengthen the rouble as a monetary unit".

Credits should be channelled, above all, to stimulate production and to develop market relations.

"The transition to free-floating prices and instability of the political and economic situation, which resulted in decelerating the economic growth, forced the republic to follow the course of credit expansion," the decision stresses.

As much as 82 per cent of the budget deficit was covered with unsecured credits. This exceeds by far the admissible level. As a result, inflation goes out of control.

The republic introduced a special regime of operations with cash. All settlements between enterprises and organisations, irrespective of forms of property, are made only on a non-cash basis.

Cash will be issued only to pay wages, compensations, pensions and to buy agricultural products.

The session will debate military issues: defence, armed forces, conscription and military service, social guarantees and legal protection of servicemen and their family members.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Supports Presence of Russian Troops

LD2806092693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0905 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 28 TASS—The Russian division stationed on the territory of the republic will probably be given the status of a military base at some time in the future, declared Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan whilst addressing the fifth congress of the ruling Armenian National Movement last Sunday.

The head of state highly appraised the present level of Armenian- Russian relations.

Analysing the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, Ter-Petrosyan commented that self-defence is now the only guarantee of Karabakh security, although it is time to replace this with a new and more reliable system of international guarantees.

In this sense the acceptance by Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe's (CSCE) peace initiative should be seen as the first serious step towards establishing peace and guaranteeing security and normal life to the Karabakh Armenians, as well as a compromise solution to the conflict.

'Large-Scale Attack' on Mardakertskiy Reported

LD2606124093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1131 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Jun—At 0400 today Azerbaijani Army formations supported by armored vehicles, artillery, and aviation began a large-scale attack on villages in Nagorno-Karabakh's Mardakertskiy Rayon. According to reports from Stepanakert, there is fierce fighting and Karabakh troops have shot down two Azerbaijani Air Force combat planes. The Nagorno-Karabakh leadership has laid all responsibility for the further development on events on the Azerbaijan Government. Attempts by the Karabakh side to communicate directly with the Azerbaijani Army field commanders show that Azerbaijan Popular Front detachments and Surat Guseynov's rebel units are blaming each other for the offensive that has begun, the headquarters for the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces reports.

Stepanakert Bombarded 27 Jun

LD2706140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1319 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Jun (TASS)—This morning the Azerbaijani side subjected Stepanakert to artillery bombardment. According to a report from the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense headquarters, the firing, which began at 0845 this morning, was from long-range weapons and came from the direction of Azerbaijani military bases in Agdanskiy rayon [Agdam rayon]. About 12 shells were fired at the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh and there has been some destruction. Karabakh artillery neutralized a number of the Azerbaijani side's fire positions in Agdam and in Mir-Bashkirskiy rayon by retaliatory fire .

Fragments of a Azerbaijani Su-25 aircraft, which bombed populated localities in Mardakert rayon and was yesterday shot down by the Karabakh side, were discovered today in the rayon's territory.

Forces Withdrawing From Karabakh Rayon Center

LD2706164293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1549 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan 27 Jun—According to information from the headquarters of the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces, Azerbaijani formations are starting to retreat from Mardakert, the Karabakh rayon center. According to the same source, last night there was fierce fighting between the Karabakh forces and Azerbaijani troops who had launched an attack in the northeastern part of Nagorno-Karabakh at dawn on 26 June. The sides are suffering casualties.

It has also been reported from Stepanakert that the Karabakh side has managed to retain its positions in the Mardakert rayon and to occupy several supporting heights.

Constitutional Commission Completes Work on 'Fundamental Law'

LD2406214893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1917 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 24 TASS—THe Constitutional Commission of Armenia completed on Thursday [24 June] its work at the draft of a new Fundamental Law of the republic. In the near future the draft will be submitted into consideration to the Armenian Parliament and published for people's discussion, the press centre of the Armenian Supreme Soviet announced.

Addressing the final session of the commission its chairman, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that the commission had elaborated the unique draft of the constitution. The discussion will be held in the atmosphere of acute, open and principal exchange of opinions taking into consideration all proposals.

According to the president, the major feature of the new constitution is the principle of the division of powers.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev, Guseynov Hold 'Private' Meeting

LD2706154493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1420 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS and AZERTAC correspondents]

[Text] Baku, 27 June—Military units subordinate to Surat Guseynov have been pulled back from the outskirts of Baku and will be sent to the zone of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict where the situation has now become extremely strained. This was stated by Surat Guseynov himself, who arrived in Baku for a meeting with Geydar Aliyev, acting president of Azerbaijan and chairman of the Supreme Soviet .

Since early morning, the republican parliament building, where the meeting is currently under way, has been surrounded by armed supporters of Guseynov. The meeting is proceeding in private. Before the meeting, Geydar Aliyev and Surat Guseynov noted at an improvised news conference that they intended to discuss the situation at the front, the socio-political situation in the republic, and a number of other issues. Geydar Aliyev stressed that it is now essential to unite for the liberation of the occupied Azerbaijani lands and to consolidate all the forces that want to work for the good of Azerbaijan and in the name of its future. Surat Guseynov denied rumors that he had been offered the post of prime minister of the republic. "But I am ready to take up whatever post the people want to see me," he stated.

Hold News Conference

LD2706185993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1303 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Report on news conference by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev and People's Deputy Surat Guseynov to unidentified correspondents at the Supreme Soviet in Baku on 27 June]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed viewers, today at the Supreme Soviet building, Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev, who is performing the powers of the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, met with Surat Guseynov, people's deputy and national hero of Azerbaijan. Now, we present to you the report on this meeting by our colleague Gulsafa Ahmadova:

[Ahmadova] Today, Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev, who is performing the powers of the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, met with Surat Guseynov, people's deputy and national hero of Azerbaijan. The existing social and political situation in the republic was discussed.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] [Words indistinct] basically [word indistinct] our people, I say that healthy forces must unite and ensure a healthy future for our people. This is my question.

[Aliyev] Yes, you are perfectly [word indistinct], because our republic has many problems, and the greatest problem is securing the territorial integrity of our republic, taking back the territory occupied by Armenia, restoring our ruined villages, [word indistinct] our towns, and returning refugees to their own places. I mean, we must achieve by uniting all forces, enabling everyone on the whole territory of Azerbaijan to settle in his own place and refugees must return to their own places. Our soils [word indistinct]. In addition to this, undoubtedly, we [word indistinct] and without waiting for it, must improve the living of the population of our republic, improve the economic situation, quickly solve economic problems—both in industry and trade; we are on the path of the market economy, taking advantage of this (facility), we are on the path of democracy, taking advantage of this (facility) we must [words indistinct].

Certainly, if we speed up our decision, and fully [word indistinct] that if our elders, intellectuals, our wise people take the initiative and if they do not withdraw, if they unite and follow the same path in our grave situation, we will quickly come out of these difficulties. I believe that our main aim is to secure [word indistinct] of the Republic of Azerbaijan and as (people) of Azerbaijan, everybody must own their land and their own state in all parts of Azerbaijan. This is our aim and our talks will continue in this style.

[Correspondent, in Russian] Esteemed Geydar Aliyevich and esteemed Surat Guseynov, will it be possible for you to say a few words in Russian for Russian television? Geydar Aliyevich, what was discussed during the negotiations with Surat? What foundations of your policy and of the future policies of Azerbaijan? How do you see them, yourself and esteemed Surat?

[Aliyev, in Russian] Azerbaijan People's Deputy Surat Guseynov arrived in Baku, and he can already be seen in the Supreme Soviet. We sat down together and had a conversation eye to eye. Before this we had had conversations over the phone and we had been in permanent contact; now I have met him in person. Before this we met in Ganja.

Both Surat Guseynov and myself have decided to constructively discuss the current situation in Azerbaijan, that is very complicated and tense indeed, and to define ways out of this predicament.

All our previous telephone conversations and the short time we have spent together give me grounds to say today that our meeting, our conversations, and discussion will be successful, we will arrive at one opinion and we will jointly work out measures of bringing the country out of this predicament.

[Guseynov, in Russian] Geydar Aliyevich and I understand each other. We have only one desire—to find a way out of this situation. It is evident that all forces must join together and solve all problems. I believe that the most important thing is to unite all forces who love their people, the forces who are concerned with their own well-being and their good life, who are concerned about our people and who wish a good happy future to the people. That is how I see it.

[Correspondent] Esteemed Surat, will you be offered a post in [word indistinct] of Azerbaijan? Are rumors that you will be offered the post of prime minister justified?

[Guseynov] These are rumors. Should the people demand it, I will take this step, I believe.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

[Guseynov] You are welcome.

[Correspondent] Surat, this is a question from (Ai-En-Es TV company) and TV company (Gagdalusien). Could you tell us whether there is a force in Azerbaijan able to oppose the forces who are represented in this office, except for journalists?

[Guseynov] I believe that we have had enough opposition; everybody should unite and think about the people, about stopping this unjust war that the Armenians are waging against Azerbaijan. I believe that all forces will unite and resolve all problems—both of the people and of the war.

[Unidentified correspondent] Geydar Aliyevich [words indistinct] a question related to the results of today's negotiations. Whether any changes in Karabakh depend on them, or rather can we expect changes in Karabakh affairs.

[Aliyev] Surat Guseynov and myself started our conversation exactly by discussing the Nagorno-Karabakh situation and by defining measures able to change the situation there.

[Correspondent] [Question indistinct]

[Aliyev] You know, we are talking—Surat Guseynov and Geydar Aliyev. Of course there are political forces behind this, but so far the conversation has been between the two of us.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] Do you intend to send your Army to the border region and how can your Army help to solve the problem of Karabakh?

[Guseynov] The fact is that one or two days before I came here, you certainly know, or perhaps you are not aware that I supervised my Army in the battle regions. My troops are in Ganja and at present are getting ready to go out to the battle regions and the unit that was in Ganja, at present is in the battle regions. Forces that have returned from Baku are getting ready or they will go out to the battle regions tomorrow morning. The fact of the matter is, if we are saying what our people want to say and if we are saying that our people must be relieved of this plight, then it is the obligation of every person that they should do what they can and help in the battle; help to raise the living standard of the people.

[Correspondent] Mr. Guseynov, at what [word indistinct] do you want to achieve your aims?

[Guseynov] Which aims ?

[Correspondent] (Karabakh) [words indistinct].

[Guseynov] The aim is that all forces must unite so that we solve this problem together. For this reason, at present we will go, I mean, we will also go for reconciliation [word indistinct]. All forces should unite and we will confront the enemy as one force. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Guseynov Declares Right To Take 'Decisive Measures'

LD2606005893 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Appeal by opposition leader Surat Guseynov to the Azerbaijani people; read by announcer Safar Abiyev—live, in Russian]

[Text] The appeal of Surat Guseynov, people's deputy and the national hero of Azerbaijan, to the people of the Republic:

The state and government structures have created an act of sabotage against me and against the defenders of people's movements. Today, at about 1800, Vagif Suleyman Veliyev, head of the executive authority of the town of Ganja, and Ruslan Gadir Rzayev and Eldar Mammad Veliyev, two other members of people's movement, were murdered in an act of terrorism.

Delaying the elimination of the crisis in the republic, which has been created in artificial ways and with various excuses, has paved the way for the emergence of new subversion. In this connection, I would like to point out that the state leaders and those who direct the work of the National Assembly in other directions bear responsibility for the blood that is shed. Under these circumstances, I reserve the right to take decisive measures. May God bless those who have died. Surat Guseynov.

Guseynov Yet To React to Transfer of Presidential Powers

LD2606142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 26 Jun—The process of changing the heads of executive power in the Azerbaijani areas that Surat Guseynov's supporters have under their control is coming to an end. This is a large part of the Republic's territory which includes the eastern and central regions adjoining Baku.

According to the press service of the Azerbaijani president today, Surat Guseynov has not yet expressed his opinion on the decision of the Republic's National Assembly to strip the president of his powers as head of state and to hand them over to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Judging by publications in independent newspapers in Baku today, Azerbaijan National Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev, who is fulfilling the presidential powers, believes that there should be no friction between him and Surat Guseynov. Both political leaders continue consultations aiming at finding ways out of the crisis situation. Local observers do not even exclude that they could presently be engaged in working out joint measures to repel the aggressive actions of Armenian military formations against villages in Agdamskiy and Agderinskiy Rayons in Azerbaijan today. According to reports from key ministries, by midday today the enemy had managed to seize several Azerbaijani villages there.

Baku appears to be quiet. Shops and cafes are open, and public transportation is working. Contrary to reports circulated by some foreign media that the Baku airport has been closed, air communication between Azerbaijan and other countries is operating normally. Local pilots have made dozens of flights already this morning.

Guseynov's Forces Occupy Sumgait

LD2506144093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] As the REAL agency reports, Guseynov's detachments have occupied Sumgait, Azerbaijan's second city in terms of industrial potential, without a single shot. As the independent newspaper SEKHER reports today, the head of executive power in Sumgait has been removed. This post has been provisionally entrusted to Sharik Abushev, the chairman of the city executive committee. I will remind you that Sumgait is about 30 km north of Baku. At the present time the Azerbaijan capital is encircled on three sides by troops from Gyandzha. According to an agreement between the republic's leadership and Guseynov the two sides will not use weapons against each other this week.

Aliyev Opposes Elchibey in National Assembly 23 Jun

NC2506171593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2059 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev during a National Assembly session in Baku—live]

[Text] The time is getting late. We have to sum up the debate we now have. Meanwhile, I also wish to express my opinion. You have observed that I have refrained from obstructing any speaker during the debate. Nor have I uttered a single word. Nevertheless, I wish to say a few words.

We have respected Abulfaz Elchibey as a person. I have respected him as our independent republic's head of state after he was elected president of Azerbaijan. I have respected him as the president until now. I arrived in Baku in accordance with Elchibey's personal invitation. I have worked with Elchibey even before I was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet. I am prepared to maintain my work.

The incidents in Ganja on 4 June have created significant tension in Azerbaijan. I am obliged to reiterate the following: Let us say that President Abulfaz Elchibey and his colleagues failed to make the necessary political and legal assessment on the incidents of 4 June. Let us say that they failed to focus attention on that problem and acted in a misleading way. Consequently, the incidents gradually worsened. This state of affairs has created a state of war.

In fact, the present situation is a reality. Considering all this, I agreed to cooperate. However, I did not expect Elchibey to leave Baku after he gathered us around him to solve the problems. I support the view that the president should not have left Baku, regardless of whether or not his life was threatened. The step he took did not add to his credibility. Yes, I wish to defend him. But, the defense to be put up should not be in mere words or individual terms. It must be based on common sense. Elchibey's behavior cannot be linked with common sense. It cannot be justified. In all the talks I have held with him I have urged him to return and work with us to remove the existing situation. However, Elchibey does not wish to return to Baku. Meanwhile, Surat Guseynov does not wish to relinquish his demands. Consequently, a serious situation exists in Azerbaijan.

The latest fighting has brought Azerbaijan to the brink of collapse. It must be clearly pointed out that the policies maintained in various fields have brought Azerbaijan to the brink of fragmentation. Under the existing conditions, should we try to save Azerbaijan from this situation and protect the people, or move to debate the preference someone has made on where he wishes to stay? Abulfaz Elchibey should have considered this matter. I wish to clearly say that the president should not only think about his life and situation. He must also think about all the people.

I wish to reiterate that I am prepared to defend Elchibey today and tomorrow. I respect him. He has been elected president by the people. However, he, too, must share that approach. I am unable to agree to the decision he has adopted as the president to remain in Keleki. Tofik Gasymov is the foreign minister. He said that whether we have a president or not makes no difference. The president may or may not return. That is up to him to decide. In what democratic country can this apply? The head of state of a democratic country cannot act in that way. Nor can we agree to such behavior. Who shall we defend, the people, the nation, our territory, or individuals? My view is that everyone can be sacrificed for the people, state, nation, and territory. Our territory, nation, and state are more valuable than anything else. They are more valuable than the life of each and every person, including the president.

In view of this, the speeches made in this session [pauses]. Yes, several people may claim that Geydar Aliyev is not putting an end to the debates. I wish to ask how many people are aware of the psychological situation. I am not here to get a position. No, I am not. My only objective is to defend the state and the people. It is to help the people to stop the existing situation.

Why does a person come to power? Is it because of his personal ambitions or because he wishes to help his people and state to develop? Is it because he wishes to help his people to stop the serious situation in their country? I have observed that several people wish to defend [word indistinct]. However, that is wrong.

What I have said has been difficult because we have drawn up a draft resolution for the transfer of the presidential powers to the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. I wish to say that I do not want powers to be transferred to me. If Abulfaz Elchibey is the president, then he should return and execute his duties. He should either return and execute his duties or, if he is unable to do so, he should inform us accordingly. Any other way does not exist.

What they said is completely right. The views Mr. Etibar Mamedov expressed in this session were right. Governing Azerbaijan from Keleki is impossible. I wish to recall Tofik Gasymov's view that the president can be in Ganja or Keleki. No, the country cannot be governed from Keleki. That is not right. The president may visit Keleki for a vacation or for any other reason. However, saying that he will remain in Keleki and will not return until Surat Guseynov's troops are withdrawn is wrong. How can that be equated with common sense?

I wish to ask you to consider my position. I also ask that Elchibey also consider my position. Why have you placed me in this position?

The draft resolution may be edited to a certain extent. However, the majority of the deputies believe that it may be approved. Nevertheless, I wish to say that I support reconciliation. I support the view that a step should be taken. And, I believe that a provision for stripping Elchibey of his authority or for transferring his authority should not be included in the draft resolution. Instead, the draft resolution should carry a provision that would say that Abulfaz Elchibey is unable to execute his duties in Keleki and urge him to transfer his powers.

Opens 24 Jun Session

LD2506175693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Statement by Supreme Soviet Chairman Gaydar Aliyev to an National Assembly session in Baku—live]

[Text] Of the members of the National Assembly, 38 are present and there are citizens present. During discussions we were busy with a few questions, first of all in connection with the report given by Etibar Mamedov. This report complies with the truth. Indeed, in the town of Ganja, three people were killed: Veliyev Haji Vagif Suleymanoglu, executive governor of Ganja; Aliyev Eldar Mammadoglu, deputy excutive governor; and Rzayev [word indistinct] Gadiroglu. Please remember the people killed.

(?Recently) I have kept in telephone contact with Surat Guseynov in Ganja. Surat Guseynov reported that necessary measures were being taken and investigations were being carried out. However, if this is needed, it must be understood that a commission must be established by the National Assembly and sent there. If this is needed we will later negotiate with Surat Guseynov. Acting Internal Affairs Minister Rovshan Javadov is also involved in this task as are other relevant bodies.

It is obvious that we would (?focus) on this theme. However, after the tragic event in Ganja, the tragic event that took place on 4 June, the situation will definitely be more tense. This once again has proven that there is a lack of authority in Azerbaijan and it proves that a government crisis exists. And once again it proves that it is necessary to administer independent Azerbaijan and the state. It is not possible to allow this situation anymore. It is out of control and is affecting the whole republic. The main reason for this is obvious to you; we have been discussing this for a few days—the absence of the state leader of Azerbaijan and the absence of a state program in Azerbaijan.

During this period, in connection with proposals made here, we established contact with esteemed Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey. A few people had telephone conversations with Abulfaz Elchibey and informed him of the incident in Ganja. They also gave their proposal in connection with the events here. I believe people with official duties who have talked to Abulfaz Elchibey will report about it here themselves; I ask them to do so.

However, about 15 minutes ago, Abulfaz Elchibey faxed a reply to the decision of the National Assembly dated 21 June. This reply was received, as I said, 10-15 minutes ago. Therefore, I believe this reply should be conveyed to the members of the assembly and after that discussions should continue.

'Text' of Resolution To Remove Elchibey

NC2506195093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Jun 93

["Text" of National Assembly Resolution on 24 June—read by announcer]

[Text] Regarding President Abulfaz Elchibey's incapability of fulfilling his presidential duties and the transfer of presidential powers to Geydar Aliriza ogly Aliyev:

In accordance with paragraph four of article 121 of the Constitution, the main law, the president functions as the guarantor of the maintenance of the rights and freedoms of Azerbaijan's citizens and the adherence to Azerbaijan's laws. He takes measures to safeguard and defend Azerbaijan's sovereignty and maintain state security and [word indistinct]. Furthermore, he gives guidance to the work of the Republic's state organs in those fields.

President Abulfaz Elchibey left Baku for Keleki in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic's Ordubadskiy Rayon without informing the leading officials of the state organs on the night between 17 and 18 June. According to the official information disclosed by the presidential press service, President Abulfaz Elchibey flew from Bina Airport in Baku without transferring the execution of his duties to anyone in order to prevent the expected bloodshed in Baku and maintain his security on the night between 17 and 18 June. He arrived in Keleki in Ordubadskiy Rayon on the same day. By doing so, he limited his functions as the head of state, lost his links with the state's administrative organs, and dissociated himself from the execution of the functions of the supreme executive organ. In view of that, he has been unable to perform his presidential duties.

Furthermore, Abulfaz Elchibey has only been able to establish links with the other parts of the Republic, including Baku, with the general telephone communications network, which functions in an unreliable way. As such, he has been unable to receive objective information, properly asses the tense social, political, and military situation in the country, and participate in the adoption of urgent decisions on the incidents. Consequently, he has lost the opportunity to maintain his control of the incidents. In view of all this, Abulfaz Elchibey is unable to fulfill his duties as the guarantor of the maintenance of the citizens' rights and freedom and adherence to Azerbaijan's laws.

Considering the war situation in Azerbaijan, the president does not have links with the military units that are fighting against Armenia's occupationist forces. Under the existing conditions, President Elchibey has been unable to perform his duties as the supreme commander in chief of the Azerbaijan Armed Forces, duties such as the approval of strategically important plans for military operations and the establishment and maintenance of cooperation among the Armed Forces affiliated with the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of National Security. Due to the absence of special means of communications, a threat has been created for state and military [word indistinct].

These incidents and the absence of the leading officials of the state administrative organs, which guarantee the defense and security in vital areas of the Republic under the existing conditions, have posed a threat to Azerbaijan's state administration. It has created the danger of the collapse of the government organs and the administrative system.

Criminal groups have become more active and are committing serious crimes, particularly murders, robbery, and [words indistinct] because of the vacuum created in various parts of the Republic. The worsening of the situation may be disastrous to Azerbaijan and our state administration may collapse.

This state of affairs requires urgent and resolute measures in order that the situation in the Republic can be stabilized, tension can be removed, the state administration can be strengthened, law and order can be restored, and all the forces can be mobilized against foreign aggression.

Under the existing conditions, the Azerbaijan National Assembly adopted a decision on 21 June 1993 to appeal to President Abulfaz Elchibey to urgently return to Baku. However, Abulfaz Elchibey failed to attach importance to that appeal. He has neither returned to the capital nor adopted any effective measure. Consequently, he has placed himself in a position that makes it impossible for him to execute his duties as the president.

According to article 121 of Azerbaijan's Constitution, paragraph seven, whenever the president in no longer able to perform his duties, his presidential powers are transferred to the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet until the new president is elected.

Considering the recommendations, acting in accordance with paragraph seven of article 121 of the Republic's Constitution, and moving to find a way to remove the social and political crisis in Azerbaijan, which has emerged as a result of the incidents in Gyandzha on 4 June 1993, and to obstruct the Armenian military units in Karabakh's Agdam, Agdere, Fizuli and other rayons, remove the threat against the state and the danger of a fratricide, and restore the functions of the administrative system, the Azerbaijan National Assembly has decided the following:

1. The fact that Abulfaz Elchibey is unable to execute his duties as the Republic's president be ratified.

2. The president's authority be transferred to Geydar Aliriza ogly Aliyev.

[Signed] Afiyeddin Dzhelilov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, Baku City

[Date] 24 June 1993, No. 608

Elchibey Says Decision 'Anti-Constitutional'

NC2506123593 Baku TURAN in English 1135 GMT 25 Jun 93

["Statement of Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey"—TURAN headline]

[Text] Baku June 25 (TURAN)—Today press-service of Azerbaijani president distributed a statement of Abulfaz Elchibey, which called the decision of Milli Mejlis June 24 about depriving president of all his authorities and handing them over to the chairman of Supreme Soviet anti-constitutional.

Statement notes, such kind of decision was accepted under the pressure of rebels armed forces.

President noted in his statement, "despite of my temporary absence in Baku, I, as popularly elected president, declare, that I can realize most of my authorities. I dont recognize Milli Mejlis decision because of it is anti-constitutional character. I consider it to be a state coup, started by military force and finished in parliament. As a legitimate president I declare, that I will continue the struggle for liquidation of state coup consequences by all democratic means".

Message Responds to Assembly's Appeal

LD2506183393 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Message from President Abulfaz Elchibey to the National Assembly read by Deputy Tamerlan Bey; place and date of message not given—live]

[Text] Reply to the appeal of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated 21 June:

Esteemed members of the parliament:

I have received your appeal and studied it comprehensively. You have good reasons for your anxiety. Indeed, the situation in the republic is extremely grave. It is possible to seek a way out of the situation that has come about through all steps of state and government structures, together with leaders of political and social movements and political parties, and on the basis of their consent.

First of all, as legal president of Azerbaijan, I would like to say that I am fulfilling my function. I receive necessary information from state and government officials and give relevant instructions. I am keeping systematic contact with the front regions and I give necessary instructions. Contrary to what you [word indistinct], I have never cut my contact with state administrative structures. The presidential apparatus of the Republic of Azerbaijan is functioning under my leadership. I am systematically seeking contact through telephone and satellite communications with the front regions, border rayons, various administrative offices and organizations of Baku—including the Supreme Soviet—and leaders of different foreign countries.

I have the ability to establish contacts with any part of the world. However, all this cannot be a basis for my return to Baku. Irrespective of the fact that among members of the National Assembly and deputies of the Supreme Soviet some were directly involved in the events, I would like to convey some questions to your attention.

In the broad sense of the word, an overthrow of the government is being implemented. Political circles that are reasonably wise, experienced, and have accepted the reality of the world, by way of giving legal cover to events, and narrow-minded ambitious people for the leadership and those who take advantage of these difficult days of the nation for their own limited interest by military means and by [word indistinct] force are trying to complete the overthrow of the government. [sentence as heard]

As a president elected legally by the people, and as the only representative of the governmental establishments of the republic, I express my resolute protest against both of these attempts. I have been elected by the will of the people and I obey them. I can leave my post that I occupy only by the will of the people. No armed groups or political establishments can force me to resign.

I draw your attention to the fact that the illegal military units kept near Baku are being used for pressure—and these forces are controlled not from Ganja, but from Baku.

Esteemed members of the parliament:

I sincerely accept your appeal for reconciliation—any part of your appeal for reconciliation. For this purpose, I am prepared to discuss all questions together with you and take steps within my authority. I will convey information on the process of the events, the reasons for them, and the participants in these events and also my views comprehensively in future. However, explaining these at present may harm the stability of the situation.

Esteemed peoples' deputies:

It surprises me that the National Assembly has not assessed the present situation nor refrained from assessing the problem of discussing it at its various sessions and from taking practical steps within its authority. It seems nothing but the president's resigning or not resigning interests members of the parliament while the National Assembly has exceptional facilities and necessary authority for establishing ways out of the existing tension. In our opinion, the situation after 10 June, which was not included in the investigation by the deputy's inquiry commission, must be discussed and assessed by the National Assembly. The assembly can adopt a decision on removing from their position the forces that are around the city and which in some cases have entered the city. I, on my personal behalf, have given instruction to [word indistinct] ministries on maintaining stability in Baku. Adoption of a decision by the assembly in this direction and entrusting the relevant ministries with the execution of the decision would make the security of the population of Baku more reliable. On the other hand, people who were indirectly involved in this incident—Rakhim Gaziyev, Guseynov, and others—are regarded as members of the parliament. It is interesting. Why has the National Assembly not discussed the actions of its own members until now? A member of the National Assembly has until today been kept hostage in Ganja. What practical steps has the National Assembly taken toward obtaining the release of its members?

Esteemed peoples' deputies:

I, on my own behalf, have taken every step toward compromise. From 4 until 10 June, I accepted all the demands that were put forward. [Bey says: "It has been erased here, I cannot read it"] With their own will, in order to maintain stability and not give any excuse to the other side, they resigned. The newly elected [word indistinct], on the basis of the agreement that we have reached before should have stabilized the situation. I took the second step toward compromise with the advice of Geydar Aliyev, Etibar Mammadov, and Rasul Guliyev. All three of them came to me and said that in order to stabilize the situation, it was necessary to dismiss the ministers of internal affairs, defense, and national security and entrust their deputies with the execution of these duties. On the basis of this agreement, they gave guarantees for the defense of Baku. The day after the new appointments, at a meeting attended by a group of high-ranking officials of the Defense Ministry, they adopted a decision on their not defending Baku. The acting internal affairs minister also gave a nearly similar reply.

No matter how grave it was, I must confess that with their actions these ministries indirectly demonstrated that they were refraining from obeying me. This had a rather grave effect on the later process of events. Please also explain your attitude toward this issue.

Esteemed peoples' deputies:

You know very well that for nearly 30 years I have followed a professional path of political struggle. I have never worried about my life. You know that I am not greedy for a post. For this reason, my accepting the decision on changing location within the republic was not connected with my personal security. Unfortunately, this is intentionally exaggerated by individual leading persons, and at a certain political situation it changes into a facility for political speculations. There is a main factor that determines my not being in Baku at present—not to allow mass bloodshed. Basically I have achieved this. After the position of the ministries of (?forces) was revealed, the city was opened for rioters. The determination of guards, protection units, and [word indistinct] forces to fight until the end, the existence of armed groups relating to certain circles in the city, depended on a small spark. If such a massacre into which we would have been dragged had started, no force could stop it. And we as well as those who played this game could be victims of this disaster.

I decisively state that we should close all the paths leading to a civil war and mass bloodshed. I know very well that my leaving Baku was not received with a unified understanding by the people. It has in a certain sense affected my power. However, I make no bones about (?using) my power for the sake of not allowing bloodshed and a civil war. You too can do many things in this direction. On my own behalf, for the sake of stabilizing the situation, I do not protest against giving a major part of my authority for a temporary basis to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The text of the decree on this will be sent to you within the next hours.

Finally, I once again declare that I have not resigned from my post, and I appeal to you to refrain from taking any unconstitutional steps. Otherwise, a harmful tradition of coming to power by using force might begin in Azerbaijan. This way could be a heavy blow to the newly formed state of Azerbaijan. None of us has the right to take such steps.

With best regards.

[Signed] Abulfaz Elchibey, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Supreme Court Recognizes Decision To Remove Elchibey

NC2506160693 Baku TURAN in English 1441 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 25, (TURAN)—As TURAN Agency was informed by the government sources 13 members of the Supreme Court recognized the yesterday's Milli Mejlis decision to deprive Abulfaz Elchibey of his president powers to be legal.

These lawyers gave an affirmative reply to Geydar Aliyev's inquiry if Milli Mejlis decision approved the day before corresponded to the constitution. The inquiry was addressed to the Supreme Soviet because of the constitutional court absence in Azerbaijan.

As it was reported the president himself, some deputies and political figures declared today that Milli Mejlis decision did not correspond to the constitution.

Elchibey Decree on Transferring Powers to Aliyev

LD2606010893 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Decree by President Abulfaz Elchibey read by Deputy Afyaddin Jalilov to a session of the National Assembly in Baku—live]

[Text] Decree of the Azerbaijani president on temporarily entrusting the execution of part of the powers of the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet:

Taking into consideration the present social and political situation that has come about in the republic, and with the purpose of preventing military confrontation and bloodshed and achieving the solidarity of political and military forces, I regard it as appropriate to temporarily entrust the execution of part of the powers of the Azerbaijani president to the Supreme Soviet chairman. I decree:

I temporarily entrust the execution of the following powers of the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, envisaged in Articles 121-1 and 121-4 of the [word indistinct] law of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan:

1. To implement the supreme executive power in the Republic of Azerbaijan—supervision of the Cabinet of Ministers;

2. The existence of the office of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces;

3. To support the guarantee of compliance with the rights and freedom of the citizens of Azerbaijan, with the Constitution, and with the laws of the Republic;

4. To take measures for the protection of the sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan and to secure state security and territorial integrity and supervise the activity of the state bodies in this area;

5. To supervise the system of state administrative bodies and ensure interaction between them and the Republic;

6. To present to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan reports on the situation in the Republic and to inform the Supreme Soviet regarding the most important questions on internal policy of the Republic.

7. To submit the candidacy for the post of prime minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation and, with the agreement of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, to set up the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic and to make changes in the composition of the Cabinet of Ministers, with the exception of the minister of foreign affairs.

8. To give proposals to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan for: discussions on establishing or cancelling the posts of ministers of the Republic and on establishing or cancelling other central state administrative bodies; establishing committees, department heads, and other administrative bodies under the president and the Cabinet of Ministers and on cancelling them; and for appointing leaders of these bodies and for dismissing them from their posts.

9. To present to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic candidates for the posts of chairman of the Supreme Court, chief procurator of the Republic, and supreme arbitrator of the Republic; and to propose the dismissal of those holding the aforementioned posts, with the exception of the chairman of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

10. To cancel the decisions and orders of the Cabinet of Ministers of Azerbaijan, (?names) of ministers and ministries of the Republic, (?names) of other bodies affiliated with the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the decisions and orders of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, the names of the executive committees of the soviets of the local people's deputies; and, during the period between the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan, to cancel the (?names) of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, the (?names) of rayon and town people's deputies, and to give them to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation.

11. To [word indistinct] orders of the Republic of Azerbaijan and to give honorary names of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

12. To give amnesty to people convicted by the courts of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

13. To give information about the declaration of the state of emergency in different areas of the Republic, for the sake of the defense of the Republic and the security of its citizens; and, whenever it is necessary to organize a state of emergency by giving, without delay, the adopted decisions to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation, to apply temporary presidential [word indistinct] administration.

14. To declare a mobilization; to declare a state of war for the sake of defending the Republic of Azerbaijan and for the sake of the security of citizens, and to submit the adopted decision to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic for confirmation.

15. To stop the activity of local soviets of people's deputies, when they regularly violate: the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan; the laws of the Republic and other (?names) of the Supreme Soviet; and the decrees and orders of the president; the decisions and orders of the Cabinet of Ministers—and to give proposals to the Supreme Soviet for their release.

16. To take measures to implement the legal policy and to supervise the activity of law enforcement bodies, and (?to set up) a body for coordinating the law enforcement activity in the republic.

[Signed] Abulfaz Elchibey, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan

[Dated] 24 June 1993

Acting Defense Minister Rejects Elchibey Leadership

LD2506192693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Statement by acting Defense Minister Safar Abiyev at an National Assembly session in Baku; introductory remarks by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev—live]

[Text] [Aliyev] It is understood from Abulfaz Elchibey's letter that he is leading the republic. To what extent and through whom is he leading? We must clarify this here. Is he really leading the country or not? Here he points out that leaders of three ministries had refrained from following his orders or resisted. At the same time he says: I lead the country and I am giving instructions. Contradictions are obvious. However, it is understood that before discussing this question we may ask people who are fulfilling the duties of those three ministers if it is needed. They should, furthermore, give some information to us. Is this leadership really a reliable one? This task of leadership can ensure the security of the republic both from outside and inside. We have nothing to say against it. Therefore, acting Defense Minister Safar Abiyev will talk about one of the main questions. Excuse me, I forgot; Abulfaz Elchibey has sent a decree that we have not received and we do not know what the decree is about. Here you are. Please.

[Abiyev] You know very well what the political and military situation is at present in our republic. The action of certain leaders—i.e., the inappropriate use of the armed forces—has led to the gravest consequences on the Karabakh front and within the republic. In view of the fact that leadership, especially of late, has hardly been exercised and that recently—by which I mean since the beginning of June—the military have been drawn into these political games, including, as you know, the former defense minister who, by what means I know not, has become involved in this game. You know what consequences can be expected. Listening to speeches by deputies, I concluded that in the end it is the former defense minister who remains the guilty one. Not one of the leaders who set him the task has said that—has accepted full responsibility.

We soldiers feel that in the future the leadership will go on using us inappropriately and will provoke us to clash with the people. We have declared that the Armed Forces are being used inappropriately, and we take issue with the decisions of the president. This information has reached you, you all know this. Well, recently, with every passing day—I said it when I spoke yesterday—a Russian style of leadership is lacking. We say again that there is no leadership on the part of the president, and we cannot be entirely without leadership. There is now an extremely serious situation, as you know, in the (?Kyzyly) area. I was informed today that there has been a sharp deterioration in the Kazakh area. I was forced to send officers there immediately to clarify the situation. There was the possibility of an Armenian air raid. You yourselves know this is being directed by them at a time when we are—the republic is—in a state of major political crisis, a leadership crisis.

We cannot fulfill the demands of a president who knows nothing of the situation and will be directing us from there. In practice he is not in charge, and you know that. So we have, in effect, entirely renounced our subordination to him. Understand that as you will. We cannot go against the people, and we demand that you immediately make a decision on the leadership of the Armed Forces. Thank you.

Elchibey Reproaches West for Lack of Support

TA2706152393 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1500 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] Abulfaz Elchibey, who has been stripped of his presidential powers, has said that he will continue to wage a democratic struggle to the end. He stated that, if conditions permit, he might run in the elections to be held in three months.

Speaking to Turkish Radio and Television in Keleki, Nakhichevan, Elchibey pointed out that at a time when democracy and human rights emerged as priority values, the democratic Western societies did not support democracy in Azerbaijan. He stressed that he does not recognize a force other than the will of the people, and criticized those circles that accused him of pursuing a soft policy just because he did not seek to remain in power by shedding blood.

Elchibey stated that he is struggling not for power but for democracy and that he will succeed in this struggle.

People's Front Demonstrations Held in Baku

OW2706115993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By Aleksey Sinitsyn; from the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] After the decision by the National Assembly yesterday, supporters of the People's Front held several small and quite local demonstrations in various places in the city. We met one of the groups in the street and you can draw your own conclusions about the political [pauses] intellectual potential of the demonstration participants.

Well I think that you have drawn your conclusions and if we judge by the number of newspapers published in Baku, we can quite rightfully maintain that all is well with pluralism in our country.

Pro-Elchibey Demonstrators Dispersed in Baku

LD2506153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1420 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 25 Jun—A mass meeting in support of republic's president Abulfaz Elchibey which students in Baku tried to organize this afternoon was dispersed before it started. The groups of young people who gathered in front of the Technical University building and near one of the stations of the Baku underground situated in a busy part of the city were asked to disperse, and after they refused warning shots followed. According to eyewitnesses, batons were used against the demonstrators and there were casualties.

The duty officer at the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry, which ITAR-TASS correspondents approached asking for explanations, has denied the information that there were casualties. The Ministry said that the unauthorized action had been prevented in accordance with a state of emergency which is still in force on the republic's territory.

Kerimov, Gasymov 'Temporarily' Resign

NC2606145693 Baku TURAN in English 1413 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 26 (TURAN)—Today a press-conference of the State Secretary Ali Kerimov and the Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Tofik Gasymov was held.

It was noted at the press-conference that Milli Mejlis decision to deprive the President Abulfaz Elchibey was unconstitutional. In the connection with it the representatives of presidential structures (state councillors, president staff workers, district heads of executive power) decided to stop temporarily their activities.

Ali Kerimov said that what was happening was a coup having a logical end in Milli Mejlis decision of June 24. He noted that a coup was carried out in the period when the processes of political and economical independence of Azerbaijan had assumed irreversible character. Ali Kerimov declared that a coup was inspired by internal and external forces which were not interested in it. We were entrapped and it was prepared long ago, Ganja events were the reason used by anti-Azeri forces, said Ali Kerimov.

"New power had shown its political orientation, Ali Kerimov said, on June 23 the deputy prime-minister Vahid Ahmedov cancelled minister cabinet decision of June 11, 1993 to realize the project of exploitation of oil-fields 'Gyuneshli', 'Chirag' and 'Azeri' by Western oil companies".

Besides in the same day an instruction to ban national and international banks to conduct payment operations to foreign partners was given. "All these facts show who and in the name of which carried out a coup in Azerbaijan", Ali Kerimov said.

The minister of foreign affairs noted [words indistinct] Mejlis had no right to deprive the democratically elected president of his powers. "This decision is anti-constitutional and Abulfaz Elchibey is a president of Azerbaijan as before", said the minister. He also added that it would take years to remove negative consequences for state prestige.

Tofik Gasymov also said that Geydar Aliyev empowered the minister of foreign affairs on Albert Salamov (deputy minister of foreign affairs).

Aliyev Decree Replaces Foreign Minister, Others

NC2606181093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] We have received several decrees by Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, today. They are as follows:

In accordance with Geydar Aliyev's decree, Babesk Mamedov has been appointed as director of the Azerbaijan State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. Mamed Ismail has been relieved of his duties as director of the Azerbaijan State Television and Radio Broadcasting company at his request.

In accordance with Geydar Aliyev's decree, Arif Kafar ogly Rakhimzade has been appointed as state adviser on the affairs of the republic's local sovereignty and administrative organs. Arif Mustafa ogly Gadzhiyev has been relieved of his responsibilities as state adviser on the affairs of the republic's local sovereignty and administrative organs.

In accordance with Geydar Aliyev's decree, Tofik Gasymov has been relieved of his responsibilities as foreign minister.

In accordance with Geydar Aliyev's decree, Giyas Sadykhov has been relieved of his duties as director of affairs of the presidency.

Aliyev Writes to Foreign Leaders on New Position

LD2506162693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1440 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Islam Kuliyev in Baku]

[Excerpts] The main event of the day, I would say, is the decision of the National Assembly [assigning presidential powers to Geydar Aliyev]. [passage omitted]

Naturally, our listeners would be very interested in knowing what kind of policy the new republican leaders will pursue. In this connection, I would like to quote some excerpts from Geydar Aliyev's letters to heads of state and parliaments written in response to their congratulations on his election to the post of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani republic.

Responding to them, the chairman of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet confirms the intention of the new leadership to build its foreign and domestic policy on the foundation of international legal norms, the principles of democracy, legality, and protection of human rights.

You need not have any doubt that I will do everything in my power to help my people at this difficult time to find a way out of the crisis and ensure that all norms of international law, legality, and human rights are observed, writes Geydar Aliyev in his message to Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov. The letter goes on to say: The links of friendship and good-neighborly relations between our peoples, which have been developing for centuries, will doubtlessly gain a new impetus, becoming more stable and fruitful. Interparliamentary relations between our states will develop further.

Giving his thanks to Husamettin Cindoruk, chairman of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, for his congratulations, Geydar Aliyev assures him that he will do all he can to preserve Azerbaijan's territorial integrity, ensure peace for the people, and protect democracy and law in the country. The letter expresses a certainty that there will be eternal friendship and fraternity between the Azerbaijani and Turkish peoples.

The message of the chairman of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet to Ahmad Nateq-Nuri, head of the Islamic Republic of Iran's parliament, says that the people of Azerbaijan have close historical, cultural, and spiritual ties with the people of Iran. Geydar Aliyev writes: I have no doubt that relations between our countries will develop in all directions, to the benefit of our peoples and states. [passage omitted]

Briefs EC Representative

LD2506151193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 25 Jun—Geydar Aliyev has said the decision of Azerbaijan's National Assembly to hand over presidential powers to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet was "the only correct decision in the situation that has evolved."

Receiving today Tomas Terstegen, German ambassador and representative of the EC countries in the republic, the head of Azerbaijan's parliament explained that the move had prevented bloodshed in the republic the consequences of which could have been awful. Geydar Aliyev thinks that the decision adopted was in full accordance with the republic's constitution, international norms, and democratic principles. He asked the diplomat to pass on to his government and also to the European Community that "Azerbaijan adheres to all international treaties and agreements it signed in the past and it will implement them to the full."

Receives Turkish Foreign Ministry Support

LD2606012193 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Statement by Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman, read by unidentified deputy, to the National Assembly session in Baku—live]

[Text] Statement by the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman:

Our contacts with esteemed Geydar Aliyev on the situation in Azerbaijan continues. Esteemed Mr. Aliyev is today the legitimately elected chairman of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan. We have a very good relationship with him. We have frequently made proposals for the return to Baku of esteemed President Abulfaz Elchibey. Aliyev also appeals to esteemed President Elchibey to return.

Within this framework, he has sent a group of intellectuals to Nakhichevan and has asked him to return. For this reason, esteemed Chairman Aliyev wants President Elchibey to return to Baku as soon as possible and to undertake the duties of the president. In this, Aliyev has really made great contributions toward finding a solution to this political crisis on a legal basis.

[Signed] Ankara, 24 Jun 1993

Georgia

Shevardnadze in Germany on Official Visit

LD2506162293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1532 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn June 25 TASS— Numerous Georgian-German bilateral agreements, which are the first agreements in the history of relations between Georgia and Germany, were signed in Bonn today, which is the second day of Shevardnadze's visit to Germany.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel pointed out that concrete agreements would help achieve progress in the relations between Georgia and Germany. They will impart a concrete meaning to a joint statement on fundamentals of relations, which was signed in Bonn on Thursday [24 June].

He noted that an agreement on cooperation in culture should become a reliable foundation for the development of close contacts between the two countries. Economic agreements have laid a foundation for close cooperation between Georgia and Germany in this area.

Georgia is going along an uneasy way, and Germany is trying to render it as much assistance as possible, Kinkel said. He expressed the hope that in the light of major political transformations, Georgia and Germany will never confront each other as hostile sides. An agreement on tending the graves of soldiers, which was signed today, should encourage the two countries to develop relations in the atmosphere of peace, freedom and friendship, Kinkel pointed out.

For his part, Shevardnadze expressed the hope that the agreements signed today would be implemented. He pointed out that there are no problems between Germany and Georgia today, including political problems. "Our task is to work hard to fulfill these agreements," Shevardnadze said. Georgia is attaching special importance to an agreement on protection of investments, which opens the way for the German capital into Georgia. He admitted that German entrepreneurs might have certain apprehensions about making investments in Georgia, but pointed out that in his opinion, there is a favorable atmosphere for foreign investments in Georgia. Shevarnadze said that in Bonn he met with leading German businessmen, adding that they were optimistic about cooperation with Georgia.

"I cannot speak for Germany, but as regards Georgia, this visit has become historic. It has marked a new stage in the relations between our two countries, since until today, no agreements have been signed between us. Today, we have laid a legal basis for further development of cooperation in all directions," Shevardnadze said.

On Friday Shevardnadze left for Berlin.

Signs Agreements, Comments

LD2506165793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, was as busy today with friendly and business meetings as during previous days of his official visit to Germany. This morning he signed a bilateral agreement on cooperation between Germany and Georgia. Then he met the chairman of the board of Siemens, one of the largest firms in Germany, and signed an agreement on cooperation in all spheres.

This morning Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

Also today, Otto von Amerongen, chairman of the inter-European committee on German individual construction, held a reception in honor of the Georgian head of state.

At 1300 German time, Eduard Shevardnadze left for Berlin by air and had meetings with the Berlin mayor and Georgians residing in Berlin. Representatives of the Leipzig-Georgian House arrived in Berlin for this meeting, too. Eduard Shevardnadze is expected for dinner at the Town Hall this evening. That is all about today. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow at 1200, Mr. Shevardnadze will leave Germany for Kiev and will meet Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. A conversation will be held about the complete implementation of the interstate treaty between Ukraine and Georgia. They will also speak about the current situation in Abkhazia and the Ukrainian mission in the settlement of this conflict. Leonid Kravchuk's initiative about the integration of Europe and Asia, which is supported by Eduard Shevardnadze, will also be discussed.

The Georgian head of state will return to Tbilisi tomorrow afternoon.

Arrives in Berlin

LD2506174093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1738 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Savvin]

[Text] Berlin June 25 TASS—Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here on Friday [25 June]. On Saturday he is expected to meet with German Economics Minister Guenter Rexrodt. Later in the day, Shevardnadze will be awarded the Immanuel Kant prize at the city's Assembly of Deputies. This award is to mark the great services of the former Soviet foreign minister in the cause of the Germany reunification.

Shevardnadze Asks NATO To Act as Peacekeeper in Caucasus

PM2506155593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 3

[Correspondent Vladimir Peresada report: "Lackluster Visit"]

[Text] Brussels, 24 Jun—Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament, has been here on a one-day visit. He discussed topical international problems with the leadership of Belgium, raised the question of increasing EC financial aid to Georgia, and also visited the North Atlantic Alliance headquarters, where he met with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and addressed the permanent representatives of the alliance's member countries.

The leading Belgian newspapers have printed not a single line about the visit.

Recent but altogether different times come to mind—December 1990. USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Brussels, where he signed a large-scale treaty on partnership and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Community and, most importantly, was the first Soviet and indeed first high-ranking representative altogether from behind the former "iron curtain" to cross the threshold of NATO headquarters. And that story was a worldwide sensation.

Woerner also recalled that visit yesterday, describing it in just one line as providing at that time "clear evidence of the fact that the cold war had come to an end." He then immediately went on to talk, no longer about the past, when Shevardnadze was the envoy of a great "superpower," but, in a much narrower context, about the situation in Georgia, where a "hot war" is now raging, as in many other regions of the ravaged USSR.

What did the Georgian leader say at NATO HQ? He spoke mainly about the conflicts in the former USSR, specifically in the Caucasus and Georgia. And with the following implication: If Europe does not act quickly to end the clashes in the Caucasus, Shevardnadze said, it could pay a high price for its procrastination. In his opinion, the situation is such that no individual country or organization can obtain positive results on its own. While clearly realizing the importance of the Russian factor in settling the conflicts in Georgia, at the same time, he observed, we favor closer cooperation with international and European structures in the region.

On the basis of this premise, Shevardnadze explicitly stated that Georgia would welcome "any form" of participation by NATO and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] in efforts to resolve the conflict in Abkhazia, including participation in peacekeeping operations. He proposed that a session of the NACC, to which the countries of NATO, Eastern Europe, and the CIS belong, be held in Tbilisi in order to "get to know the problems of the Caucasian region better."

For his part, Manfred Woerner noted that NATO countries should seek ways to settle the regional conflicts, including the conflict in Abkhazia, which, if it were to escalate, could even pose a threat to stability outside the Caucasus region. However, when he subsequently answered journalists' questions about the possibility of NATO participation in peacekeeping operations in Abkhazia, Woerner recalled that the alliance could only give support to UN or CSCE efforts.

In other words, the NATO secretary general demonstrated a certain restraint and caution in response to Shevardnadze's appeal. But let us not forget that the North Atlantic alliance is already "helping" settle the conflict in former Yugoslavia by referring to that same United Nations.

Sukhumi Reportedly Under Fire From Abkhaz Forces

LD2706140593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1341 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By unidentified GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Sukhumi June 27 TASS—At 4:30 a.m. on Sunday [27 June], the alarm was raised in the Abkhazian capital Sukhumi, the information and analytical center "Aisi" told GIA News Agency with reference to the press office of the Georgian troops deployed in Abkhazia.

Abkhazian armed formations shelled the city's residential districts using "grad" missile launchers. No casualties or damages were reported.

At night, the Georgian units located in the villages of Aradu and Merkula in the Ochamchira district came under fire from armored personnel carriers. By midday the situation on the front line along the Gumista River became relatively quiet.

Abkhaz Troops Try To Shoot Down Passenger Plane

LD2606173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1401 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Albertiy Kochetkov]

[Text] Sukhumi, 26 Jun—On 25 June, Abkhaz armed formations tried to shoot down a TU-154 passenger airliner on its landing approach to Sukhumi. According to information of military experts, a missile hit the right engine of the "plane which was en route from Tbilisi; however, the crew managed to land the plane safely."

Nevertheless, "planes are continuing to fly although they are being forced to break civil aviation flight regulations."

UN's Butrus-Ghali Deplores Attacks on Sukhumi

LD2706163893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] The press service of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali issued a statement yesterday saying that the UN secretary general deplores the recent attacks on the town of Sukhumi and calls for strict observance of the cease-fire agreement. The secretary general is increasingly concerned about the continuing daily bombing of the Georgian town of Sukhumi by Abkhaz forces, which causes injuries and deaths among civilians. The secretary general condemns such attacks which, if not stopped, will result in further aggravation of the conflict and large-scale confrontation both in Georgia and in the whole Caucasus region. The secretary general calls on all sides to strictly adhere to the 14 May Moscow cease-fire agreement and refrain from any action which may inflict more suffering on the population.

Attack by Georgians in Abkhazia Said To Leave 7 Dead

LD2706111793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1023 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 27 Jun—The villages of Dzhgerda, Atara, Merkula, Baslakhu and Bediya in Ochamchirskiy Rayon were subjected to artillery and mortar bombardment by Georgian forces at midnight and at 0500 this morning. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed of this by the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet's press service.

The previous day, Georgian artillery shelled the populated localities of Mokva, Katsikhabla, Tomush, Atara, Merkula, Baslakhu and Bediya. Seven peaceful inhabitants were killed and 19 wounded as a result of the bombardments. More than 30 percent of the houses have been destroyed in the aforementioned populated localities.

Yesterday, there were exchanges of small arms and machine-gun fire in the course of the day along the Gumista front. Georgian forces used howitzers and mortars to bombard the populated localities of Eshera, Shitskvara, Gvandra and Novyy Afon. There has been considerable destruction and some fires broke out. Georgian forces fired howitzers at the populated locality of Gvandra overnight.

Abkhazia Denies Shelling Novyy Afon

LD2706150493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1345 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Report by free-lance correspondent Zurab Argun]

[Text] Gudauta, 27 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet has declared that a statement that was issued today by the Georgian side that the town of Novyy Afon allegedly was being bombed by Abkhaz armed forces and that it is now under their control does not correspond to the facts. "These kinds of fabrications are used by the Georgian side to decline responsibility for the purposeful destruction of Novyy Afon, the town-memorial of the early Christian culture, which has played one of the most important roles in the ancient history of Abkhazians," the statement of the press service underlines. It expressed its protest to the command of the Georgian troops and placed all responsibility for destruction of the unique town on them.

Abkhaz Foreign Ministry Statement on Escalated Conflict

LD2706151593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1452 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Zurab Argun]

[Text] Gudauta (Abkhazia) June 27 TASS—The Abkhazian Foreign Ministry released on Sunday [28 June] a statement saying that the Abkhazian leadership fully shared the well-grounded concern of the Russian Government over the continued shelling of Abkhazian populated areas, which led to further escalation of military actions.

The document states that "the Georgian side, in violation of its commitment to cease fire from May 20, 1993, has never stopped shelling vllages of the Ochamchira District, the sieged town of Tkvarcheli and the town of Novyy Afon". The statement notes that "Georgian troops are shelling Novyy Afon using heavy guns and other weapons located in Sukhumi just near apartment houses".

During the ceasefire, the Georgian side not only failed to withdraw heavy material from the zone of combat operations, as was envisaged by the communique on the results of the meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, but used the ceasefire agreement for redeploying its forces and building up combat power along the front line, according to the Abkhazian Foreign Ministry.

At the same time, the document goes on to say, "the Georgian leadership is seeking to shift reponsibility for the continued hostilities to the Abkhazian side". "In doing so, it appeals to the world community for defending the 4 million strong Georgian people from 100,000 Abkhazians".

The statement points out that the true goals of the Georgian side are also proved by Georgia's refusal to discuss at the tripartite negotiations the peace plan put forth by Abkhazia. The necessary prerequisite for establishing peace is the immediate and unconditional pullout of Georgian troops from Abkhazian territory, which has been repeatedly stressed by the Russian leadership, reads the statement by the Abkhazian Foreign Ministry.

Russian Military Holds 24 Jun News Conference

NC2606094693 Yerevan SNARK in English 0818 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Tbilisi, June 25 (SNARK)—Yesterday, on 24th of June, the press-conference took place at the staff of the group of Russian military forces in Transcaucasia took place. It was undertaken by the first deputy of the commander, head of the staff, Major-General Yuriy Baluyevsky. Boris Dukov, deputy of extraordinary situations, and Gennadiy Dolgachiov, head of the press-center, participated in the work of the press-conference. There was mentioned the fact that the criminal groups intensify their actions attacking the Russian military men after the decree on the Russian troops withdrawal was accepted by the Georgian Parliament. During the period of the latest six months the criminal elements attacked Russian military men and military towns for 70 times. There were killed five and wounded five soldiers. There were captured 44 military machines and 264 units of arms. For 20 timed the commandment appealed to the Georgian military and political bodies to stop the anti-law actions. No effect. Even the representatives of the military police took part in the attacks. David Zeikidze, head of the Tbilisi Department of Internal Affairs, made his own comments on the fact. He is of the opinion that all the facts of attacking Russian military men, military towns can be considered as provocation.

Estonia

Russian Gas Company Cuts Supplies; Laar Comments

LD2506163993 Tallinn Radio Estonia in Estonian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Today at noon the Russian Gazprom concern ended gas supplies to Estonia. This decision is justified by the Estonian debt of 80 million kroons for gas. Aarne Saar, Estonian Gas director general said to Estonian Radio that it will be possible to last for four to five days with the reserves available in store if gas consumption is restricted. Talks have begun with Gazprom to reach a compromise. The Estonian Gas director general did not dare forecast what the outcome of the talks might be.

Northeast Estonia will be hardest hit by the Russian decision. This is where nearly half of the private gas consumers live.

[At 1400 GMT on 25 June the radio reports: "Tallinn Gas will suspend supplies to industrial enterprises while some reserves do exist and supplies to the population will continue. They will hold out for a couple days.

["This was reported to ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency] by Tallinn Gas Director Ulo Jaanimagi. Tallinn owes over 50 million kroons for gas, and Lentransgaz, a subsidiary of the Russian state gas concern, has warned us repeatedly. On 24 June a telegram arrived saying that gas would be turned off at 1225 hours on 25 June, said Jaanimagi."

[The radio quotes Prime Minsiter Mart Laar as saying: "I do not see any need for panic because certain reserves do exist, and the government is in control of the situation. The hardest hit areas following this halt in the supply of gas will be precisely the areas where the Russians have settled. I must admit that when I met the trade unions today and told them about this news they were quite annoyed, because if we face the truth, such Russian policy damages most of all the self-same people whom they are attempting—according to what they say—to protect.

["It seems to me to be largely directed at causing disturbances—if unemployment keeps rising and sources of energy disappear, disturbances will follow.

["From the economic point of view this will not be such a major problem for Estonia. Should gas disappear completely—which I cannot see happening—I am certain that we will resolve this issue one way or another. These supplies account for only 10 percent of Estonian energy needs. The Estonian economy is independent of the Russian economy. We have attempted to achieve this within a year, and in this respect I cannot see any enormous dangers."]

Gas Bill To Be Paid With Japanese Credits

LD2606193393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] More about gas supplies to Estonia: The economic director of the company Eesti Gaaz reports via BALTFAX that it will pay to Gazprom its debt of 80 million kroons from credits by the Export-Import Bank of Japan. He believes that the question of the debt should be resolved as early as next week.

As concerns the law on foreigners adopted by the republican State Assembly, President Lennart Meri has decided to appeal to the Council of Europe and the CSCE to obtain an expert assessment of the document.

Reaction to Law on Foreigners Viewed

Meeting With Kozyrev Proposed

WS2506150293 Tallinn BNS in English 1425 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 25, BNS—Estonia today proposed a meeting of Russian and Estonian foreign ministers to discuss the spiraling crisis in bilateral relations.

The proposal, conveyed to Russian Foreign Ministry representative Aleksey Glukhov, comes in the wake of a series of new Estonian laws that affect the country's Russian-speaking population.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a firey protest to the laws Thursday [24 June], calling up catch-phrases like "ethnic cleansing" and "apartheid."

Glukhov, who is visiting Estonia, met Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste and Estonia's chief Russian negotiator Juri Luik.

The Russian envoy also gave Velliste two letters from Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, a spokesman at the Estonian Foreign Ministry said.

Foreign Ministry counselor Raul Malk, who participated in the meeting, told BNS that one of the letters reiterated Russia's views on the laws recently passed in Estonia, especially the law on aliens. The second letter was addressed to Velliste as chairman of the Council of the Baltic Sea States. In it Kozyrev suggests an extraordinary meeting of the council's foreign ministers.

Malk said Estonia plans to start consultations with Finland and Poland—the former and the previous presiding countries in the Council—and later with other members.

The Foreign Ministry press office reports Velliste, Luik and Glukhov also discussed issues pertaining to the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia, and the legal issues of housing the military and the employees of Russian army plants in Estonia. Velliste explained to the

Russian diplomat the details of two laws, the law on elections for local councils and the law on aliens, and outlined the position of the country's leadership on the issue. Estonia "showed as warm an attitude as possible," said Malk. "We calmly explained our positions," he said. But he added that a certain nervousness was evident in the political circles of Russia. President Boris Yeltsin's statement Thursday was one of the toughest during his three years in power, he said. Malk said this might be due to what can be regarded as collapse of the Russian theory of "close foreign countries."

Glukhov is also scheduled to meet with Estonian President Lennart Meri today.

Narva Demonstrators Protest

LD2806095293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0843 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Yevgeniy Kapov]

[Excerpt] Narva (Estonian Republic), 28 Jun—This morning numerous inhabitants of the Estonian town of Narva picketed local councillors prior to a meeting held to discuss measures aimed at protecting the rights of the non-indigenous population. In connection with the law on foreigners which has been adopted by the state assembly but not yet signed by the president of Estonia, the pickets are demanding equal rights and—in the event that the policy of discrimination continues—the adoption of the most resolute measures, even including the secession of the town, where 90 percent of the inhabitants are Russian speakers, or the establishment of an autonomous entity in northeastern Estonia.

Vladimir Chuykin, chairman of Narva's town council, described the situation in the town as one which could get out of control at any moment. [passage omitted]

Narva Situation Becomes 'Tense'

LD2606181393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1629 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kapov]

[Text] St. Petersburg, June 26 TASS—The situation has become tense in the Estonian town of Narva adjoining the Leningrad region, Petersburg mass media bodies report today.

"The adoption of the Estonian Law on Foreigners is equal to the declaration of war against Narva. We plan the most decisive measures up to the blockade of railroads and highways, halt of power plants and announcement of a general strike. We have lost all patience," head of the Narva City Council Vladimir Chuykin and head of the Union of Narva Russian Citizens Yuriy Mishin told a news conference at the St. Petersburg correspondents' house on Friday.

The news conference was attended by Estonian Consul General Kook.

A session of the Narva City Council will be held on Monday [28 June] to discuss further steps to be taken. It is not excluded the session will decide on a general strike in the town.

Foreign Minister Views Law

LD2706204093

[Editorial report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian in its "Itogi" program at 1800 GMT on 27 June carries a 4-minute report on Estonia. Anchorman Yevgeniy Kiselev begins by saying that last Monday an event occurred there which had a profound effect on the Russian-speaking population of the republic. They no longer have civil rights and their future is in jeopardy.

Reporting from Tallinn, reporter Heymar Lenk says that half a million people in Estonia are Russia, Ukrainian, or Tatar. Only a small proportion of these are Estonian citizens. The rest will have to apply for citizenship. If an applicaton is rejected a person may have to leave. This causes uncertainty. The new law has caused friction between Russia and Estonia.

The report then features a recorded interview with Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste, who says: "I think that the misunderstanding arises because Estonia and Russia have very different initial viewpoints precisely on a legal level. Unfortunately Russia treats Estonia as a former union republic. Well, unfortunately, the historical facts speak of something different, as do the juridical facts. The concept of foreigner must after all be defined very clearly and juridically, and of course no one can automatically remain a citizen of Estonia; he must apply via the juridical mechanism. This law proposes such a mechanism."

Lenk says that maybe people should have been given more information before the law was passed. Velliste responds: "It should be admitted that no doubt more information should have been published beforehand about the content of the law. It is simply that a great deal of misunderstanding arises on the grounds of lack of understanding, or inaccurate information, or because the information is not being correctly interpreted. That is of course true. I want to stress that in Estonia it is now very calm. In Tallinn now there are more schoolchildren who speak Russian and go to a Russian school than go to an Estonian school. In the Estonian capital, Tallinn, there are more. Such facts are sometimes not mentioned. They are also facts."

Lenk says that it is rumored that Russian schools will be closed. Velliste says: "That is not true. They will not be closed. Education will be guaranteed at least up to the ninth form. What there will be after that, evolution will tell."

Lenk then asks the minister for his assessment of relations between Russia and Estonia? Velliste replies: "Relations are very complex but I think there is a possibility of improving them when there is the political will."

Meri To Seek EC, CSCE Opinion

WS2806095793 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1432 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 27—President of Estonia Lennart Meri said in his statement on Saturday [26 June], that before deciding whether to announce the Law on Aliens, adopted by Riigikogu on June 21, he will turn to experts of European Council, CSCE and other organizations to get an unbiased professional opinion of the law.

President stated that different interpretations of the Law on Aliens have caused confusion among Russian population in Estonia, which is due to inadequate information and partly disinformation.

On Friday the Law on Aliens was handed over to the representatives of the European Council Hans-Peter Furrer and Leonard G. Davies by the Prime Minister of Estonia Mart Laar.

Vello Saatpalu, the head of Riigikogu Foreign Committee, said that the crisis in Estonian-Russian relations can not be due to the adoption of a law but rather to the fact that Estonia is quickly slipping out of Russian economical and political control.

Official Views Statements by Russian Politicians

LD2506180293 Tallinn Radio Estonia in Estonian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Raul Malk, the foreign minister's adviser will begin our bulletin by providing a lengthy commentary on Russian top politicians' statements today.

[Malk] Both the Russian president and the foreign minister issued today strongly worded statements about Estonian domestic policy, motivated by the Law on Foreigners that has been adopted by the Riigikogu [parliament] but not as yet signed by the president. President Yeltsin's written statement of today's date contains phrases like "crude violation of rights," "ethnic cleansing," "introduction of an Estonian version of apartheid," "Russia does not intend to tolerate," "entire responsibility for disturbing the domestic peace rests with the Estonian leadership," "with the Russian-speaking population naturally wishing to defend itself Russia cannot remain an indifferent observer."

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev, however, after a meeting with Max van der Stoel, CSCE high commissioner for minorities, spoke of a policy of quiet apartheid and of a kind of ethnic cleansing in white gloves, the latter phrase having become the foreign policy department leader's habitual phrase, which he hopes to introduce this way into international journalistic and political phraseology. The CSCE high commissioner spoke afterward so cautiously while distancing himself from the Russian positions, that ITAR-TASS when reporting on this, was unable to distill anything from it for Russia's benefit. An appeal for a more active dialogue between the Estonian Government and the Russian population was reported. During his upcoming visit to Estonia van der Stoel plans to discuss the issue of setting up a council for international relations.

One can sense behind Russia's sharp tone, first and foremost, an annoyance over lack of international support for Moscow's policy of pressurizing Estonia. Nothing new has been added to Russia's previous arguments. However, the use of words has been taken to extreme lengths in diplomatic practice. The president's statement points out that the Russian Foreign Ministry has already taken diplomatic steps to draw the world public's attention to the policy of apartheid in Estonia. "It seems that this is not enough" is the sentence that follows. Next it is stated that the Russian leadership will resort to any measures to protect Russia's national interests and to make the Russian-speaking population secure.

So, the fact that Russia's interests come first, and are followed by the interests of Russians in Estonia is not hidden. The international public is either to support the interests Russia claims to have on the territory of another country or accept that Moscow is acting on its own. We hope that the world public and the international organizations will, first and foremost, oppose resolutely the Russian attempts to declare the territory of another country to be the object of her interests. We are after all talking about a crude violation of the principles of the Helsinki Process and about attempts to resuscitate behavioral patterns of Germany and the USSR on the eve of World War II. If the world accepts a political line of this kind it will in essence stand for another Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the Baltic states being relegated to victims of great power endeavors in the hope that this will satisfy Moscow's appetite.

When Russia sharply opposed Estonia's admittance as a member of the Council of Europe a decisiveness emerged in the representatives of 26 countries to support Estonia even if they hitherto had had some doubts. It is early to say whether things will go the same way. In any case one can clearly sense in the Russian positions a fear that this may happen.

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev today noted to the press that international organizations must study the question of a clear response that will not leave any doubt of double standards being used or of Europe becoming an area of lowered standards in respect of protection for the minorities.

As is known, it is precisely in Europe where most has been achieved in protecting ethnic minorities, in drawing up and implementing legal measures. Moscow perhaps does not have confidence in this work. One can but ask if the Russian foreign policy department's leader has in mind great power principles, talking about the Russian forces' activity outside the territory of his country, as an example for the rest of the world.

If Europe does not listen to Russia, a very poor example will be given to the former Yugoslavia and a number of other areas, according to Kozyrev. This was said by a representative of the country that is practically the only one to support Serbia's great power policy, with ethnic cleansing precisely forming a part of it.

At the Estonian-Russian talks solutions to many issues have been bogged down by the fact that Russia will not recognize as an occupation what took place in Estonia in 1940. Moscow sees Estonia as having gained independence while being an integral part of the USSR that disintegrated in 1991. This tendency is currently demonstrated even more clearly in President Yeltsin's statement through references to some geopolitical and demographic realities, and Russia's opportunities to remind one of those.

Russian diplomacy has invented another theory that had not previously existed in international law: Of some kind of lawful rights, on the part of the soldiers of the armed forces, and the individuals accompanying them, while being deployed illegally on the territory of another country, in this country. As is known, one of the reasons why Estonia was in a hurry over the Law on Foreigners was precisely the Russian attempt to leave its soldiers and their families behind and thus turn the troop withdrawal into a formal act. [sentence as heard]

It will soon be a year since the leaders of 53 countries approved a document in Helsinki on the need for an urgent Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic states. Now the world hears that the country that has not complied with this resolution speaks instead of her troops' lawful rights in another country.

I will like to break off the analysis of the contents of the statements, to attempt to examine the practical aspects of the current issue. What kind of steps can we expect from Russia?

First and foremost one can talk about nonimplementation of the most-favored nation status. But this has not even come into effect in trade between our two countries. So, nothing in essence will change. The troop withdrawal has slowed down to such an extent that to slow it down further will have a minimum effect. One can expect a resolution as early as tomorrow by the Russian Parliament on suspending the 1991 treaty on the foundations for the relations between the two countries and on restrictions on the sales of energy to Estonia. With the latter measure it will all depend on the way the resolution will be implemented.

In Moscow, statements about Estonia are issued definitely with certain local forces in mind, whose restraint seems to concern somebody in Russia. At the same time many non-Estonians in Estonia understand that a certain standard of well-being exists here, and the whipping up of any tensions will end investments of capital in certain areas that will in turn aggravate the social problems. They are frightened by the situation in Russia and do not want to do anything ill-considered in front of local politicians.

Prime Minister Laar began substantial talks on Tuesday [22 June] with representatives of different groups of society from northeast Estonia, and he will continue those. Prompt adoption of government decrees will help to diffuse a number of incorrect interpretations, and a smooth organization of the issue of residence permits will also enable us to dispel noncitizens' uncertainties.

For Estonia it is essential to continue a dialogue with Russia, and normal relations with Russia form an important aim in our foreign policy. Tomorrow [25 June] the Estonian foreign minister and presumably also the president will confer with the Russian Foreign Ministry's special envoy, Glukhov, the director of the ministry's European Department. In connection with the signing of an agreement on securing pensions Russian Social Affairs Minister Ella Pamfilova will also be in Estonia tomorrow.

Estonia's development has been so swift that many aspects have perhaps not been understood in Moscow simply because of the news piling up. In such a situation consultations between the two countries form an important step toward reducing tensions.

So far on the international arena there have been fairly few reactions to the Estonian Law on Foreigners, and those have been predominantly in the press reporting both the Estonian and Russian positions. Evidently the debate will now carry over into international organizations. In this sense it is good that tomorrow the political director of the Council of Europe will be conferring with Estonian leaders and that the NATO Political Committee is currently here on a visit. Next week Max van der Stoel, CSCE high commissioner for minorities will be in Tallinn.

An English translation of the Law on Foreigners has been sent to all Estonian missions abroad, and they face a major job of informing foreign countries' government and public.

In conclusion, one can acknowledge that the best model for action is dialogue both with non-Estonians here, and with Russia. He who is in the right has no need to lose [word indistinct] nor sense of proportion, nervously.

NATO Political Committee Delegation Meets Laar

LD2506205593 Tallinn Radio Estonia in Estonian 1400 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] A NATO Political Committee delegation representing all NATO member countries with the exception of Portugal, is currently visiting Estonia. The delegation, led by John Cleyndler, chairman of the Political Committee, was received by Prime Minister Mart Laar. Cleyndler, when asked what had been discussed, said that he did not consider it appropriate to go into detail, but he did say that topical Estonian problems had been discussed.

The delegation also met with the parliamentary speaker, Ulo Nugis, and discussed security in the Baltic region and Estonia. Nugis presented his views on Estonian-Russian relations. The visitors asked if anything could be done at the parliamentary level so as to avert situations of conflict or at least to ease them. Regrettably the parliament speaker had to acknowledge that relations with the Russian Supreme Soviet are not of the most friendly kind. He said that Baltic interparliamentary cooperation is mostly founded on handling security issues, and solutions in this sphere can only be found in close cooperation with the parliaments of other countries that are friendly toward us. Members of the NATO delegation were prepared to offer their help toward resolving such problems. These matters were dealt with in more detail during their meeting with the parliamentary foreign and state defense commission members.

Lithuania

Prime Minister Comments on Return From U.S.

LD2506132393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Lithuania's relations with the United States are linked to the legalization of our place in the world. This statement, discussed in Detroit, was repeated today by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius on his return from America where he paid an official working visit.

A statement by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher that America has established a $50 million fund to support business in the Baltic states is only one of the many facts demonstrating goodwill towards Lithuania by one of the most influential countries in the world.

It was agreed to in meetings with the secretary of state and other high ranking officials on other economic and political support, which is so essential to our country, said the prime minister.

The prime minister noted that meetings with the heads of the IMF, the World Bank, and the U.S.Import and Export Bank were very important. They positively assessed our economic reform. The introduction of the litas inspired confidence of these leaders in Lithuania's future.

The prime minister stressed that the political and social conference in Detroit, and meetings after the conference with our compatriots, were of exceptional importance to the development of relations between our state and the emigres. I think that our relations with the emigres will develop in a normal way. The role of the mass information media is of special importance here, stated the prime minister on his return from the United States.

Christian-Democratic Party on Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD2606184493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1829 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius June 26 TASS—Foreseeing a meeting of the Lithuanian president and government with the Russian leadership in the near future, the Lithuanian Christian-Democratic Party Board has decided to voice its opinion on the unsettled Lithuanian-Russian relations in the form of a memorandum presented to state head Algirdas Brazauskas.

The document was published today by Lithuanian newspapers.

"The Board of the Lithuanian Christian-Democratic Party believes the Lithuanian-Russian agreement of September 8, 1992, on withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Lithuanian territory is being fulfilled and the operation is nearing completion. That is why, there is no need to return to this issue once again or sign any political agreement," says the document. (What is meant is a political agreement—the chief document on all aspects of the Russian troops withdrawal, on which insists the Russian Federation—correspondent's note).

The party thinks Lithuania should demand that the Russian Federation compensate the damage done by the former Soviet Union and Russia to the Lithuanian state and people since 1940.

"It is necessary to oppose Russian efforts to integrate Lithuania in the sphere of its influence and work to make economic relations with this country equal," says the memorandum. In the opinion of the party board "the Lithuanian president and foreign minister should raise these questions at the meeting with Russian representatives."

The Christian-Democratic Party is the second largest Lithuanian organization in opposition to the ruling Democratic Party of Labor. A major author of this document is ex-Lithuanian Foreign Minister (in Sajudis government) Algirdas Saudargas.

Prime Minister on Transit Via Republic Territory

LD2506203093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1818 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius June 25 TASS—"Lithuania must put in order transit via its territory," Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius told a news conference at the government house here today.

"Intensive negotiations with Russia, Belarus and other Commonwealth states are underway to discuss transit to the Kaliningrad region via Lithuanian territory. There is plenty of problems: customs issues, control of borders and assignment of corresponding revenues to the Lithuanian state," he said.

Dwelling on his U.S. working visit, Slezevicius said the main thing was "his presence at a conference of U.S. and Canadian Lithuanian communities in Detroit and establishment of contacts with foreign Lithuanians".

The Lithuanian state head also meet representatives of the U.S. Administration and heads of the IMF and the World Bank.

"I must stress rumors spread by the opposition in the Sejm, claiming the West will stop cooperation with Lithuania as the Lithuanian Democratic Party of Labor comes to power, are a bluff.

"U.S. businessmen and government are mainly interested in development of democracy in the republic, democratic elections and progress of economic reforms. All this is included in the party's program and are being implemented," stressed the premier.